LIVY, BOOK I.

TEXT AND NOTES

ALLCROFT AND MASOM

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LIVY: BOOK I.

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LIVY: BOOK I.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Life and Method of Livy.**—**Titus Livius** was born at **Patavium** (Padua), whence he took his cognomen of Patavinus, between the years **59** and **57** B.C. The exact date is uncertain. He was probably of good family, to judge from the aristocratic tone of his writings, and from the fact that the C. Cornelius who took the auspices before the battle of Pharsalia (48 B.C.) was a relative of his. At Patavium, the populous and busy town of the Veneti, in the eastern district of Trans-Padane Gaul, near the mouth of the Po, he probably learned to declaim in public, as was usual, for there is a rhetorical tone about much of his History, especially the numerous speeches which it contains; but he early moved to Rome, where he spent much of his life, dying at his native place in 17 A.D., at the age of about 75. His first books (I.—X.) are supposed to have been published before 20 B.C., and from that date to his death he was unceasingly busy with his work. He was a friend of the Emperor Augustus, although himself one who regretted the Republic and applauded Caesar's murderers. He seems to have had nothing to do with politics, and was so enabled to devote all his time to the task before him. Augustus' accession closed the history of Republican Rome. Livy volunteered to systematize that history, the history of 700 years. Livy is the first Latin historian, with the exception of Caesar, whose works have come down to us to any large extent. There are thirty books still extant, together with portions of five others, and an epitome of the whole up to the 142nd book. To write the History of

Rome from her foundation to the time of Augustus was no light task, and Livy had intended to complete it in fifteen parts, of ten books each, or a total of 150 books. It is probable that the last eight books were never written.

As yet, History was a crude subject with the Romans. Thus far it had been recorded mainly as *Fasti*, that is, year-by-year records of the elections, names of the consuls, religious matters, and the principal events of national importance. Traces of this survive in Livy's arrangement of his History by years, a habit which continues even down to Tacitus' time, at the end of the first century A.D. It must be remembered that dates were fixed by the names of the consuls, and that there was no other recognized method of keeping count of time.

Livy was no critic. He compiled his work freely from various sources, including almost all previous annalists. He omitted what he chose to regard as needless; and in accordance with the Roman custom, he rarely mentions his authority for a borrowed passage, as in xlv., § 2. Very rarely, too, does he raise alternative views, as in the case of the cost of the Capitoline Temple, lv., § 7.

He did not care to verify by personal observation difficulties of geography. Nor was he an antiquarian, though the monuments of a nation are amongst the surest and most essential data of its history.

His aim was to give, without excess of detail and with no systematic criticism, the *annales* and legends of Rome from first to last as a readable whole. In this he certainly succeeded, and his work remained, to Rome's latest days, one of *the* books of the nation. But he was a poet and a *raconteur* rather than a writer of history, and he cares more for polished style and taking passages than for accuracy of detail and scientific continuity.

§ 2. **The Authorities and Credibility of Livy.**—In the year 390 B.C. the Gauls sacked and burned Rome, and in doing so destroyed most, if not all, written authorities for the years preceding that date. These authorities could not have been very copious, for it was not until many years later that anything like a yearly history of events was made; and still less could they have been reliable for any

period as ancient as the kings, for writing, if used at all, was only used very sparingly. There remained, then, only tradition to fill in the details of the years previous to 390 B.C. Tradition was copious, but utterly inconsistent. Scarcely two writers agree on any but the most salient points. Livy did not take the trouble to examine the credibility of the legends. He chose what he thought most interesting, and avoided all discussion; but even thus he falls into inconsistencies and impossibilities, as, for instance, when he prefers the account that Tarquin the Arrogant was the son, and not the grandson, of Tarquinius Priscus, in which case he must have been about seventy years of age when he threw Servius down the steps of the Senate-house, and seized the kingdom.

There were a few pieces of evidence, properly so called, wherewith to eke out the legends. Amongst these were—

(i.) **Treaties**, and (ii.) **Laws**, engraved on bronze and stone. But these were so archaic that even Cicero, who lived earlier than Livy, could scarcely read them.

For the years following the Gallic invasion Livy could use—

(iii.) The *Fasti*, or **Lists of Magistrates**, year by year, which went back to a very early period.

(iv.) The **Annales Maximi**, a yearly record of certain points such as market prices and astronomical events, which was kept by the *Pontifex Maximus;* and similar meagre records kept by the censors, augurs, and other public magistrates.

(v.) The private records of the various great houses and *gentes;* funeral orations recording the deeds of the dead, poems, etc.

(vi.) **Earlier Histories**, all compiled in much the same way as Livy's, and only really valuable when the writer was an eye-witness. Such histories were those of—

(*a*) **L. Calpurnius Piso** (see Index).

(*b*) **M. Porcius Cato**, who flourished about 200 B.C., and wrote the history of certain periods.

(*c*) **L. Cincius Alimentus**, about the same date, who wrote in Greek.

(*d*) **Q. Fabius Pictor** (see Index).

The great mass of legends which filled up the earlier period arose from two causes, called (*a*) Aetiological, and (*b*)

Euhemeristic. The former is the name given to legends invented to explain facts no longer understood, as, *e.g.*, that of Tarpeia, to account for the name of the Tarpeian Rock (xii.), and that of the Rape of the Sabine Women, invented to explain the Roman custom of pretending to carry off a bride by force (ix.). The legends called Euhemeristic are such as endeavour to reduce old myths to mere allegories concerning human beings of older times—that is, to make history out of the mythology which every people possesses. They take their name from Euhemerus, who applied this method to Greek mythology.

§ 3. The **Actual Facts of the Regal Period** (753—510 B.C.) which we may accept as true are briefly as follows: Latium was occupied by Sabines, Hernici, Volsci, and Latini (see Index). The latter people had thirty towns or more, one of which was Alba. They were merely a tribe of the same race as the Sabines, etc. A portion of them occupied the Palatine Hill, together with a few Sabines and Etruscans, and as they grew in numbers they fortified the hill as a town, which, from its square form, was known as *Roma Quadrata*. The presence of the Sabines gave rise to the stories about Titius Tatius and Numa, the Sabine kings. The Etruscans left their name in the *Vicus Tuscus*, where they perhaps settled as traders. The main body of the people, however, were Latins, and like all other Italian peoples, they were divided into clans, or *gentes*, and again into three great tribes, one of which was perhaps exclusively Sabine; and they had a king whom they chose for life. He was assisted by a council of old men (*senes*), called the *senatus*, which, however, had no real power, and which he need not obey. He was the commander of the army and the chief priest. The *gentes* met in an assembly called the *Comitia Curiata*, or assembly of the wardships into which the whole people was divided; and there were sacred functionaries—*pontifices, augures, salii*, etc. The town grew, and there arose a large class of inhabitants who did not belong to the *gentes*—the *plebs;* and to make them of use to the State, the whole number of citizens were reorganized as one army, which met in an assembly called the *Comitia Centuriata*, classed according to their property, and enrolled in *four*

tribes. Soon afterwards the kingship was abrogated, we do not know why, and the place of the king was supplied by two officials, the consuls, each with powers much the same as had been those of the king, and equal to one another. The name and legend of the Tarquins point to a time when Rome was actually subject to Etruria and governed by Etruscan kings.

In regard to the seven kings, it may be mentioned that the legends of Romulus and Tullus Hostilius are identical, as are those of Numa and Ancus, and are evidently the same story tricked out under new names. The legends of the Tarquins are in part borrowed from Greece. The story of the Trojan origin of the Romans is also Grecian, and is to be explained by the influence of the Sibylline books, which contained prophecies relating originally to an Asiatic family called the Aeneadae. When the Phocaeans of Cymae brought these prophecies to their colony of Cumae, near Naples, they were transmitted to Rome and fabled to refer to Romans, who hence called themselves Aeneadae—the sons of Aeneas.

§ 4. The **Senate**, said to have been appointed by Romulus, became in the times of the Republic the sole governing body; but under the kings it was merely a council summoned and consulted by the king at pleasure, with no real control over him. It only became authoritative when, on the death of a king, there intervened an *interregnum*, in which the Senate carried on the government until a successor could be elected. Originally it is said to have consisted of 100 members, increased by succeeding kings to 300; but the only certain fact is that in the early Republic it consisted of 300. Its members were all originally patricians, and they held their office for life unless degraded and expelled for misconduct by the censors of later times.

The **Patricians** were the members of the original *gentes*. They were sometimes called *Patres*, a name which also signifies the senators; and the new *gentes*, which were created as time went on, to replace older houses which had died out, were known as the *gentes minores*. In the earliest times the patricians alone had any privileges and

powers, and in particular they possessed many religious rites of their own, and so controlled the State by means of augury, etc. The growing class of lower rank which collected about them was the **Plebs**. These had no privileges of any sort until they were enrolled in the *Comitia Centuriata*. From that time they gradually asserted themselves, and the early history of the Republic is the record of their struggles for independence against the patricians.

Each patrician was in a manner a fuedal chief, with a large retinue of retainers—his **clientes**, or *clientela*—to whom he acted as **Patronus**. There was no legal bond between the patron and his client, but the former was expected to look after his client's interests, especially in cases of law, and the latter was in return expected to pay court to his patron, to attend him when he went out, and to support him in any public object he might have in view. The *Patronus* and *Clientela* belong, however, rather to the Republican period than to that of the kings.

Patres and *Plebs* together formed the *Populus*, or *Populus Romanus Quiritium*.

In the days of Romulus there were three tribes—the **Ramnes** (or *Ramnenses*), **Tities**, and **Luceres**, of which the second was said to include the Sabines of Titus Tatius. Each of these tribes provided one *Centuria* of one hundred cavalry, who were known as *Celeres*. Tullus Hostilius increased these to three centuries of 200 each, or 600 in all; Tarquinius Priscus doubled them again to 1,200, by adding three new centuries of 600 in all; so that there were now six centuries, known as the *Sex Suffragia*, or Six Votes, from their importance as voters in the *Comitia Centuriata*. Livy, however, contradicts himself, and says, in another place, that there were 1,800 *equites* in all, and it is impossible to arrive at the truth. They were commanded by a Master of the Horse (*Tribunus Celerum*, *Magister Equitum*).

The remainder of the *populus* formed the infantry of the **Comitia Centuriata**—that is, the assembly of the centuries. This was a classification of the entire people for military purposes, according to the scale of their property, and was

introduced in order to find a means of utilizing the growing number of plebeians. Livy says that there were six *classes*, not including the *equites*, and that the income of each class was fixed at not less than 100,000 copper *asses* for the first, 75,000 for the second, 50,000 for the third, 25,000 for the fourth, and 11,000 for the fifth; the sixth included all who had less property than 11,000 *asses*. Each *class* was divided into two divisions of *Seniores* and *Juniores*, and each division contained an equal number of *centuriae*, which varied according as the *classis* was richer or poorer. Thus the first class contained forty centuries of seniors, and forty of juniors; the second contained only twenty in all, as did the third and fourth; the fifth *classis* contained thirty centuries. There were, besides, two centuries of sappers (*fabri*), three of supernumeraries (*accensi*), *i.e.*, trumpeters, etc., and eighteen of *equites*. The grand total was therefore 193 centuries. Each century had one vote, and therefore the first class, together with the *equites*, who voted with them, contained ninety-eight votes in all, or more than half the entire poll. Thus the chief power was put into the hands of the rich. The *equites* included the *Sex Suffragia*, already mentioned, and also twelve new centuries, who were provided with horses by the State, and were hence called *equites equo publico*.

The entire classification was made in accordance with a *census*, or registration of property; and to make this *census* more easily, the populace were divided into four *pagi*, or **city tribes**—the Palatine, Esquiline, Suburran, and Colline. In after times this number was increased to thirty-five in all, by the addition of other *pagi*, or tribes, beyond the walls. These had nothing to do with the older tribes of the *Ramnenses*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, which had no political purpose.

The kings seem to have had, as a rule, no assistants, but they could, when they chose, appoint **Quaestores** (trackers), to make special inquiries, as, *e.g.*, in cases of murder *parricidii*) or treason (*perduellionis*). These were not permanent magistrates. There was, however, a *Prefectus Urbis*, who may have been a permanent officer under the later kings. He acted as the king's representative in the city when the latter was absent in war.

The order and usually quoted dates of the seven kings are as follows:—

B.C. 753. Foundation of Rome. Romulus (and Tatius).
,, 715. Numa Pompilius the Sabine.
,, 673. Tullus Hostilius.
,, 642. Ancus Marcius.
,, 616. Tarquinius Priscus.
,, 578. Servius Tullius.
,, 534. Tarquinius Superbus.
,, 510. Expulsion of the Tarquins and commencement of the Republic.
,, 509. First Republican Consuls, L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

The text is that of W. Weissenborn, and the Editors acknowledge their debt to the valuable introductions to Professor Seeley's edition. The student is strongly recommended to read Ihne's "Early Rome" (Longmans).

THE ARGUMENT.

Preface, stating Livy's reasons for writing this History. (N.B. The student may with advantage postpone reading this until the remainder of the book is read.)

Caps. i—vi. The earliest legends as to the origin of the Romans; the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, and his war with Turnus; Ascanius founds Alba Longa; the Kings of Alba; the birth and story of Romulus and Remus.

Caps. vii.—xvi. Romulus founds Rome. The legend of Hercules and Cacus, connected with the Palatine Hill. The *asylum* is established. The neighbouring nations refuse the alliance of Rome. Rape of the Sabines, and subsequent wars. The treason of Tarpeia and legend of Mettius Curtius. The Sabines are admitted as citizens. Other wars of Romulus. His mysterious disappearance.

Caps. xvii.—xxi. The *interregnum*, and election of Numa Pompilius. His religious institutions and organization of the Calendar. The Salii, Vestals, Pontiffs, and Augurs.

Caps. xxii.—xxxi. Tullus Hostilius, the new king, picks a quarrel with Alba. The duel of the Horatii and the Curiatii, and the story of Horatius' trial for murder, which was the cause for creating the right of appeal. Mettius Fufettius, guilty of treasonable intrigue with the Fidenates, is put to death, and Alba is rased. Wars with the Sabines. Pestilence at Rome, and death of Tullus.

CAPS. XXXII.—XXXIV. Ancus Martius, the fourth king, wars with the Latins, and conquers. Tarquinius Priscus comes to Rome from Tarquinii, and makes himself the king's chief adviser.

CAPS. XXXV.—XL. Tarquinius Priscus attains the throne by canvassing. He fortifies the city. The legend of Attus Navius. His wars. The prodigies concerning Servius. The sons of Ancus assassinate Tarquinius.

CAPS. XLI.—XLVIII. Servius Tullius, fifth king, obtains the crown by aid of Tanaquil. He institutes the *Census* and the *Comitia Centuriata*. He enlarges the city, and founds the Temple of Diana. He is declared king at length by the people, and assassinated by Tarquinius the Arrogant, at the instigation of Tullia.

CAPS. XLIX.—LX. Tarquinius Superbus reduces the Latini by the murder of Herdonius of Aricia. Sextus, his son, seizes Gabii by treachery. The legends of the foundation of the Capitoline Temple. The building of the *Cloaca Maxima*. The embassy of the sons of Tarquin to Delphi, and the stratagem of Brutus. The war with the Rutuli, and the rape of Lucretia. Brutus and Collatinus avenge her death by driving out the Tarquinii, and are instituted First Consuls, 510 B.C.

TITI LIVII LIBER I.

PREFATIO.

FACTURUSNE operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res 1
populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio, nec, si sciam,
dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum vulgatam esse 2
rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus
certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem
vetustatem superaturos credunt. Utcumque erit, iuvabit 3
tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi
pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scrip-
torum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitu-
dine eorum me, qui nomini officient meo, consoler. Res 4
est praeterea et inmensi operis, ut quae supra septin-
gentesimum annum repetatur, et quae ab exiguis profecta
initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua; et
legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines
proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint,
festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis
populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contra hoc quoque 5
laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae
nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe, dum prisca
tota illa mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae, quae
scribentis animum etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen
efficere posset.

Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis 6
decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monu-

mentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo
7 est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana
divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Et si cui
populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos
referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut
cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum
ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo
8 quam imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia utcum-
que animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno
9 equidem ponam discrimine: ad illa mihi pro se quisque
acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per
quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et
auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina
velut desidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut
magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites,
donec ad haec tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia
10 pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in
cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli
documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi
tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum
11 inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor
negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec
maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in
quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint,
nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos
fuerit: adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis
12 erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates
desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique
omnia invexere. Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae
futurae, cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe
tantae ordiendae rei absint: cum bonis potius ominibus
votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque, si, ut poetis,
13 nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis
tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

I. Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in 1
ceteros saevitum esse Troianos; duobus, Aeneae Antenorique,
et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae
semper auctores fuerunt, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse.
Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, 2
qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege
Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, venisse in intu-
mum maris Adriatici sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare 3
Alpesque incolebant, pulsis Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse
terras. Et in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur,
pagoque Troiano inde nomen est; gens universa Veneti
appellati. Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad 4
maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis primo in Macedoniam
venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab
Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum tenuisse. Troia et huic 5
loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab inmenso
prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superessent, cum
praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui
tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati
ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est: 6
alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde
adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt, alii, cum instructae acies 7
constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum
inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conlo-
quium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde
aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum
Laurentinum exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem 8
Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam filium Anchisae et Veneris,
cremata patria domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbis
locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et
animum vel bello vel paci paratum dextra data fidem
futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, 9
inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum
fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesti-

cum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae in matrimonium
10 data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili
11 certaque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt; Aeneas
ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque
virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes
dixere nomen.

1 II. Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti.
Turnus rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum
Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegre patiens, simul
2 Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta
ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli, victores Aborigines
3 Troianique ducem Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutu-
lique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezen-
tiumque regem eorum confugiunt, qui Caere, opulento tum
oppido, imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae
origine urbis, et tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset
accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia
4 arma Rutulis iunxit. Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terro-
rem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, nec sub eodem
iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utram-
5 que gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis
studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his
animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum
Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut iam non
terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem
ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset,
tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem
6 copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae
etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quem-
cumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium;
Iovem indigetem appellant.

1 III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius
erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume

mansit. Tantisper tutela muliebri, tanta indoles in Lavinia
erat, res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero
stetit. Haud ambigam—quis enim rem tam veterem pro 2
certo adfirmet?—hicine fuerit Ascanius, an maior quam
hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde pa-
ternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem
nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacum- 3
que matre genitus—certe natum Aenea constat—abundante
Lavini multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque
opulentam urbem matri seu novercae relinquit, novam ipse
aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in
dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata.

Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam deductam coloniam 4
triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes cre-
verant maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae,
nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum
puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut
ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis 5
Latinisque fluvius Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis
esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascani filius, casu quodam 6
in silvis natus. Is Aeneam Silvium creat; is deinde 7
Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci
Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, 8
qui Albae regnaverunt. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys,
Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in
traiectu Albulae amnis submersus celebre ad posteros nomen
flumini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius, post Agrippam 9
Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino
fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus
in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis, cognomen
colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque 10
Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat,
regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis
potuit quam voluntas patris aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso

11 fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus: stirpem
fratris virilem interemit, fratris filiae Reae Silviae per
speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua
virginitate spem partus adimit.

1 IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis
2 maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium. Vi
compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita
rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem
3 incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines
aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant. Sacerdos
vincta in custodiam datur, pueros in profluentem aquam
mitti iubet.

4 Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus
stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis, et
posse quamvis languida mergi aqua infantes spem ferenti-
5 bus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio in proxima
adluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est—Romularem vocatam
6 ferunt—pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines
erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi
erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem
ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum
flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse
mammas, ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris
7 invenerit. Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula
Larentiae uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam vul-
gato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde
locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.

8 Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec
in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes venando peragrare saltus.
9 Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto iam non feras
tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus
facere, pastoribusque rapta dividere, et cum his crescente in
dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.

V. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludi- 1
crum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium,
dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex 2
eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca,
sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi iuvenes
Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam cur-
rerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Huic de- 3
ditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram
praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset,
Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradidisse ultro accu-
santes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis 4
impetum fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in
modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus
deditur.

Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem 5
apud se educari: nam et expositos iussu regis infantes
sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum
congruere; sed rem inmaturam nisi aut per occasionem aut
per necessitatem aperire noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. 6
Ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori,
cum in custodia Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse
fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime
servilem indolem tetigerat animum memoria nepotum;
sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin
Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus nectitur. 7
Romulus non cum globo iuvenum, nec enim erat ad vim
apertam par, sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad
regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo
Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita
regem obtruncant.

VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse 1
urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam
in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, post-

quam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes
vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, origi-
nem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent,
caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem ostendit.
2 Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum
regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens
vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

3 Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque
cupido cepit in his locis, ubi expositi ubique educati erant,
urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Lati-
norumque, ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes
facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium
4 prae ea urbe, quae conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his
cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde
foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam
gemini essent, nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere
posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis lege-
rent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio
regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugu-
randum templa capiunt.

1 VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur sex vultures,
iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo sese
ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat.
Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahe-
2 bant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum
ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit.
Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos tran-
siluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque
increpitans adiecisset "sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet
3 moenia mea!" interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio
Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit.
Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro

instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone inter- 4
empto boves mira specie abegisse memorant, ac prope
Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando
traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret
boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. Ibi cum eum cibo 5
vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci
nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum
cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia, si agendo armentum
in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem domi-
num eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque
pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad 6
primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset
oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam
speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia
foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque
incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occepit.
Inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relic- 7
tarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox
Herculem convertit. Quem cum vadentem ad speluncam
Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava, fidem pastorum
nequiquam invocans mortem occubuit.

Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate 8
magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo
litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabi-
lior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam
ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes
fuerant. Is tum Euander, concursu pastorum trepidantium 9
circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam
facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque
viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque humana intuens
rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam 10
accepit, "Iove nate, Hercules, salve" inquit. "Te mihi
mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium nu-
merum cecinit, tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulen-

tissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu
11 colat. Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen inpletu-
12 rumque fata ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum
bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi adhibitis ad
ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum fami-
13 liae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum. Forte
ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent, hisque exta
apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent
dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus
14 fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro
edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec
tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus
15 omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una
ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum inmortalitatis
virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

1 VIII. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad con-
cilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus
nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita
2 sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venera-
bilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se
augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit.
3 Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant,
eum secutum numerum putant; me haud paenitet eorum
sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis
finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta
est, et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet; et ita
habuisse Etruscos, quod ex duodecim populis communiter
creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia
adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis
5 quam ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde
ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis
causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque

humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra
sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum, qui nunc saeptus descen-
dentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis 6
populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset,
avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam
magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeni- 7
teret, consilium deinde viribus parat: centum creat senatores,
sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant,
qui creari patres possent: patres certe ab honore, patricii-
que progenies eorum appellati.

IX. Iam res Romana adeo erat valida, ut cuilibet fini- 1
timarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum
hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus
nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis conubia essent.
Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas 2
gentes misit, qui societatem conubiumque novo populo
peterent: urbes quoque ut cetera ex infimo nasci; dein, 3
quas sua virtus ac dii iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque
nomen facere. Satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse 4
et non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homi-
nes cum hominibus sanguinem ac genus miscere. Nus- 5
quam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant,
simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris
suis metuebant; ac plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod
feminis quoque asylum aperuissent: id enim demum conpar
conubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud 6
dubie ad vim spectare res coepit.

Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegri-
tudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat Neptuno
Equestri sollemnis; Consualia vocat. Indici deinde finitimis 7
spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut
poterant concelebrant, ut rem claram expectatamque face-
rent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae 8

novae urbis, maxume proximi quique, Caeninenses Crustu-
9 mini Antemnates; iam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum
liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos
cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent,
10 mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi
tempus venit, deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum
ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus Romana ad
11 rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem
quaeque inciderat, raptae; quasdam forma excellentes
primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus
12 datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. Unam longe ante
alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Talassii cuius-
dam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam eam
ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio ferri clamita-
13 tum: inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam. Turbato per
metum ludicro maesti parentes virginum profugiunt, incu-
santes violati hospitii foedus deumque invocantes, cuius
ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem decepti venissent.
14 Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor.
Sed ipse Romulus circumibat, docebatque patrum id superbia
factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent. Illas tamen in
matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque,
et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore.
15 Mollirent modo iras, et quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent
animos. Saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque
melioribus usuras viris, quod adnisurus pro se quisque sit,
ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam
16 patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae
virorum factum purgantium cupididate atque amore, quae
maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

1 X. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At rap-
tarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et
querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indigna-

tiones continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum
Tatium, regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum
Tatii nomen in iis regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeni- 2
nenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos eius
iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique
visi sunt; ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum
parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro 3
ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se inpigre movent: ita per
se ipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum
facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romu- 4
lus, levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse.
Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur; regem in
proelio obtruncat et spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem
primo impetu capit.

Inde exercitu victore reducto ipse, cum factis vir magni- 5
ficus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis
hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in
Capitolium escendit, ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus
sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis
finis, cognomenque addidit deo. "Iuppiter Feretri" inquit, 6
"haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque
his regionibus, quas modo animo metatus sum, dedico sedem
opimis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me
auctorem sequentes posteri ferent." Haec templi est origo, 7
quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis
visum, nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos
eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine conpotum
eius doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot
bella opima parta sunt spolia: adeo rara eius fortuna
decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus 1
per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos
incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta

2 palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et
clamore hostes, oppidum captum; duplicique victoria ovan-
tem Romulum Hersilia coniunx precibus raptarum fatigata
orat, ut parentibus earum det veniam et in civitatem
accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordia posse. Facile impe-
3 tratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus bellum inferen-
tes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant
4 animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque coloniae missae, plures
inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum
nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est,
a parentibus maxime ac propinquis raptarum.

5 Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id
maximum fuit: nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum
6 est, nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Con-
silio etiam additus dolus. Spurius Tarpeius Romanae prae-
erat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut
armatos in arcem accipiat—aquam forte ea tum sacris extra
7 moenia petitum ierat—; accepti obrutam armis necavere,
seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli
8 causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabu-
lae, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis
brachio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint,
pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta
9 illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt qui eam, ex pacto
tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset, derecto arma
petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam
mercede.

1 XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini, atque inde postero
die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum
Capitolinumque collem campi est complesset, non prius de-
scenderunt in aequum, quam ira et cupiditate recuperandae
arcis stimulante animos in adversum Romani subiere.
2 Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant: ab Sabinis Mettius

Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam
iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia sustinebat.
Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies, fusa- 3
que est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba
fugientium actus arma ad caelum tollens, "Iuppiter, tuis" 4
inquit "iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta
ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent; inde huc
armati superata media valle tendunt. At tu, pater deum 5
hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Roma-
nis fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori 6
Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris tua praesenti ope
servatam urbem esse, voveo." Haec precatus, velut si 7
sensisset auditas preces, "hinc" inquit, "Romani, Iuppiter
optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet."
Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce iussi: ipse ad
primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis 8
princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos toto
quantum foro spatium est, nec procul iam a porta Palatii
erat, clamitans "vicimus perfidos hospites, inbelles hostes.
Iam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare 9
cum viris." In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissi-
morum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum
forte Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum
Romani persecuntur, et alia Romana acies audacia regis
accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu 10
sequentium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea res
etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem adnuen-
tibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito animo
evadit: Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum mon-
tium redintegrant proelium; sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum 1
ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste victo malis
muliebri pavore ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex

transverso impetu facto dirimere infestas acies, dirimere
2 iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando
soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent
3 partus suos, nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem. "Si
adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras.
Nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus
sumus. Melius peribimus quam sine alteris vestrum viduae
4 aut orbae vivemus." Movet res cum multitudinem tum
duces. Silentium et repentina fit quies; inde ad foedus
faciendum duces prodeunt, nec pacem modo sed civitatem
unam ex duabus faciunt, regnum consociant, imperium
5 omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis
tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equom Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.

6 Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas
viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo ipsi fecit. Itaque,
cum populum in curias triginta divideret, nomina earum
7 curiis inposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto
numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus
suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis
8 darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati; Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

1 XIV. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos
Laurentium pulsant, cumque Laurentes iure gentium
agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus pote-
2 rant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit: nam Lavini, cum
ad sollemne sacrificium eo venisset, concursu facto inter-
3 ficitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse

Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia
haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit:
ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes,
foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo 4
propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates
nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priusquam
tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant
bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri
quod inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, 5
quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agres-
tium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem
inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus—neque enim 6
dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat—exercitum
educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico 7
praesidio relicto egressus omnibus copiis partem militum
locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris subsidere in
insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu
profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere
pugnae adequitando ipsis prope portis hostem excivit.
Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna
causam minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum velut inter pugnae 8
fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu pedes quoque re-
ferret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes inpulsa
Romana acie studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad
locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam 9
invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris
signa eorum, qui in praesidio relicti fuerant: ita multiplici
terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene quam Romulus quique
cum eo equites erant circumagerent frenis equos, terga
vertunt multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes 10
paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant. Non tamen 11
eripuere se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus priusquam
fores portarum obicerentur velut agmine uno inrumpit.

1 XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione inritati Veientium animi et
consanguinitate—nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt—,
et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus
infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excu-
2 currerunt populabundi magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque
non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu raptam
ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra,
postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae
3 instructus intentusque Tiberim transit. Quem postquam
castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere,
obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quam inclusi de
4 tectis moenibusque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte
adiutis tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus
vicit, persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida
muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit; agros rediens vastat
5 ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade haud
minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitum
oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum
annos indutiae datae.

6 Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta,
quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque
post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito
recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac
7 pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum
valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem
8 haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus,
longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis: trecentosque
armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non
in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

1 XVI. His inmortalibus editis operibus cum ad exerci-
tum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem
haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore toni-
tribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum

eius contioni abstulerit. Nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam 2
turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui proxumi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde 3
a paucis initio facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum 4
regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent—manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama—; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Et consilio 5
etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor in contionem prodit. "Romulus" inquit "Quirites, parens 6
urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus adstitissem, petens precibus, ut contra intueri fas esset: 'abi, nuntia' inquit, 'Romanis, caelestes ita velle, ut mea 7
Roma caput orbis terrarum sit: proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.' Haec inquit 8
locutus sublimis abiit." Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque facta fide inmortalitatis lenitum sit.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido 1
versabat. Necdum a singulis, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, per vim aut factionibus; inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tati 2
mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa

possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem
volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur.
3 In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant liber-
4 tatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde patres
incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce,
multarum circa civitatium inritatis animis vis aliqua externa
adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo
5 alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se
centum patres decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas
decurias creatis, qui summae rerum praeessent, consociant.
Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictori-
6 bus erat; quinum dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per
omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit.
Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, interregnum
7 appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs, multiplicatam servitu-
tem, centum pro uno dominos factos; nec ultra nisi regem
8 et ab ipsis creatum videbantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea
moveri patres, offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant,
ita gratiam ineunt summa potestate populo permissa, ut non
9 plus darent iuris quam detinerent. Decreverunt enim, ut,
cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres
auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in legibus magistratibusque
rogandis ursurpatur idem ius vi adempta: priusquam popu-
lus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum
10 patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex contione advocata
"quod bonum faustum felixque sit" inquit, "Quirites, regem
create: ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum
qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis, auctores fient."
11 Adeo id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur,
id modo sciscerent iuberentque, ut senatus decerneret qui
Romae regnaret.

1 XVIII. Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate Numae
Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus

vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate poterat, omnis divini
atque humani iuris. Auctorem doctrinae eius, quia non 2
extat alius, falso Samium Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio
Tullio regnante Romae centum amplius post annos in ultima
Italiae ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotonam
iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex 3
quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in
Sabinos? Aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? Quove praesidio unus per tot
gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte 4
igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor
magis, instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam
disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere
nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.

Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam incli- 5
nari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen
neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique
patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi ad
unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decer-
nunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda 6
regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde
ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem in lapide ad
meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite 7
velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum
tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in
urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad
occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas
ad septemtrionem esse dixit, signum contra, quoad longissime 8
conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita
precatus ita est: "Iuppite pater, si est fas hunc Numam 9
Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse,
uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines, quos

feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia, quae mitti vellet;
quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

1 XIX. Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi
et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere
2 parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse,
quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum
armorum desuetudine ratus Ianum ad infimum Argiletum
indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse
civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret
3 Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio
consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum,
quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum
Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique
4 parta. Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac
foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum
curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disci-
plinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum rem ad
multitudinem inperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam,
5 deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere
ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat
sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se
monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent, sacra instituere, sacer-
dotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

6 Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim
menses describit annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singulis
mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui
solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis mensibus inter-
ponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem
solis, unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum spatiis dies
7 congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia ali-
quando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

1 XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit quam-

quam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime quae nunc ad
Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa 2
plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore,
iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur,
flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum
veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines
adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae 3
legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud
alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium
de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles
ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit, 4
tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum
pectori tegumen, caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur,
ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis
sollemnique saltatu iussit.

Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium Marci filium ex 5
patribus legit, eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque
adtribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa
sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur.
Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis 6
scitis subiecit, ut esset, quo consultum plebes veniret, ne
quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus peregrinosque
adsciscendo turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias sed 7
iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex
edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa
susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus
divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine 1
omni a vi et armis conversa et animi aliquid agendo
occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate
omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iurandum proximo

2 legum ac poenarum metu civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi
se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent,
tum finitumi etiam populi, qui antea castra non urbem
positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant,
in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in
3 cultum versam deorum violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat,
quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua.
Quo quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum
deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacravit, quod earum
4 ibi concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent. Et soli Fidei
sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru
arcuato vehi iussit, manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem
divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque eius
5 etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia
locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant,
dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit
tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam
6 regni.—Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello hic
pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta
regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida
tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

1 XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde
Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce
clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit:
2 patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis
sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque
tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere
igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi
3 belli quaerebat. Forte evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex
Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas in vicem agerent.
4 Imperitabat tum Gaius Cluilius Albae. Utrimque legati
fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus
praeceperat suis, ne quid prius quam mandata agerent.

Satis sciebat negaturum Albanum: ita pie bellum indici
posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta: excepti hospitio ab 5
Tullo blande ac benigne comi fronte regis convivium cele-
brant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et
neganti Albano bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec
renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, 6
quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari primum
purgando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam, quod minus
placeat Tullo, dicturos, sed imperio subigi: res repetitum
se venisse; ni reddantur, bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec 7
Tullus "nuntiate" inquit "regi vestro, regem Romanum
deos facere testes, uter prius populus res repetentes legatos
aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant huiusce
clades belli."

XXIII. Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrim- 1
que summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope
inter parentes natosque, Troianam utramque prolem, cum
Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe
regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minus 2
miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est,
et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum
confusi sunt.

Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impe- 3
tum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia pas-
sum locant, fossa circumdant: fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis
per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quo-
que vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius Albanus 4
rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant.
Interim Tullus ferox praecipue morte regis, magnumque
deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen
Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum inpium dictitans,
nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum
Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettium. 5

Ducit quam proxume ad hostem potest. Inde legatum
praemissum nuntiare Tullo iubet, priusquam dimicent, opus
esse colloquio: si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se
allaturum, quae nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam ad
6 Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus, tamen, si
vana adferantur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani.
Postquam structi utrimque stabant, cum paucis procerum
7 in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: "Iniurias
et non redditas res ex foedere quae repetitae sint, et ego
regem nostrum Cluilium causam huiusce esse belli audisse
videor, nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre. Sed si
vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido im-
8 perii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat.
Neque, recte an perperam, interpretor; fuerit ista eius de-
liberatio, qui bellum suscepit: me Albani gerendo bello
ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim: Etrusca res
quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es Tuscis,
hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent.
9 Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies
spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque simul victorem ac
victum adgrediantur. Itaque si nos di amant, quoniam non
contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiique aleam
imus, ineamus aliquam viam, qua, utri utris imperent,
sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi
10 decerni possit." Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum
indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaeren-
tibus utrimque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit
materiam.

1 XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini
fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curia-
tiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est
nobilior. Tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet,
utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores

utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos
Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinat animus. Cum 2
trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent
ferro: ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil re-
cusatur. Tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent 3
foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut,
cuius populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo
cum bona pace imperitaret.

Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia
fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior 4
foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit:
"Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus
ferire?" Iubente rege "sagmina" inquit "te, rex, posco."
Rex ait "puram tollito." Fetialis ex arce graminis her- 5
bam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: "Rex, fa-
cisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium,
vasa comitesque meos?" Rex respondit: "Quod sine fraude
mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio." Fetialis erat 6
M. Valerius. Is patrem patratum Spurium Fusium fecit,
verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius
iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus, mul-
tisque id verbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est
referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis "audi" inquit, 7
"Iuppiter, audi, pater patrate populi Albani, audi tu,
populus Albanus: ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis
tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique ea hic
hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Roma-
nus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio 8
dolo malo, tum tu, ille Diespiter, populum Romanum sic
ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque
magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque." Id ubi dixit, 9
porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani
suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacer-
dotes peregerunt.

1 XXV. Foedere icto trigemini sicut convenerat arma
capiunt. Armati cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos
patrios patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quid-
quid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri
manus, feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium
2 vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consede-
rant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis
praesentis quam curae expertes: quippe imperium agebatur
in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque
ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum
3 animo incenduntur. Datur signum, infestisque armis,
velut acies, terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos
gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum,
publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futu-
4 raque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut
primo statim concursu increpuere arma micantesque fulsere
gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit, et neutro in-
5 clinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde
manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque
anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quoque et sanguis
spectaculo essent, duo Romani super alium alius vulne-
6 ratis tribus Albanis expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum
casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Roma-
nas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat,
exanimes vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant.
7 Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par,
sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo ut segregaret pugnam
eorum, capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque
8 vulnere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii
ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens
videt magnis intervallis sequentes, unum haud procul ab
9 sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et dum Albanus
exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, uti opem ferant fratri, iam
Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat.

Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani
adiuvant militem suum, et ille defungi proelio festinat.
Prius itaque quam alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi 10
posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Iamque aequato 11
Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares.
Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem
in certamen tertium dabat, alter fessum vulnere, fessum
cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage
victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus 12
exultans "duos" inquit "fratrum Manibus dedi, tertium
causae belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo."
Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit, iacen-
tem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium acci- 13
piunt eo maiore cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat.
Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis ver-
tuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae
facti. Sepulcra extant quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana 14
uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed
distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

XXVI. Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettio, 1
ex foedere icto quid imperaret, imperat Tullus, uti iuven-
tutem in armis habeat, usurum se eorum opera, si bellum
cum Veientibus foret. Ita exercitus inde domos abducti.

Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens. 2
Cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat,
obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super umeros
fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit
crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat.
Movet feroci iuveni animum conploratio sororis in victoria 3
sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio simul
verbis increpans transfigit puellam. "Abi hinc cum in- 4
maturo amore ad sponsum" inquit, "oblita fratrum
mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat quaecumque

5 Romana lugebit hostem." Atrox visum id facinus patri-
bus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstabat. Tamen
raptus in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratique
ad vulgus iudicii ac secundum iudicium supplicii auctor
esset, concilio populi advocato "duumviros" inquit, "qui
6 Horatio perduellionem iudicent secundum legem facio." Lex
horrendi carminis erat: duumviri perduellionem iudicent.
Si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent,
caput obnubito, infelici arbori reste suspendito, verberato
7 vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium. Hac lege duum-
viri creati, qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne
innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter
ex his "Publi Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico" inquit.
8 "Lictor, conliga manus." Accesserat lictor iniciebatque
laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis
interprete, "provoco" inquit. Ita de provocatione certatum
9 ad populum est. Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio maxime
Publio Horatio patre proclamante, se filiam iure caesam
iudicare; ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium animadversurum
fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia
10 stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. Inter haec
senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco,
qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans, "huncine"
aiebat, "quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria ince-
dentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter
verbera et cruciatus videre potestis, quod vix Albanorum
11 oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent? I, lictor,
conliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo
Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis
huius; arbore infelici suspende, verbera vel intra pomerium,
modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium,
modo inter sepulcra Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc
iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate
12 supplicii vindicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas

nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum; absolveruntque
admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut
caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum
patri, ut filium expiaret pecunia publica. Is quibusdam 13
piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae
tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo capite adoperto
velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice
semper refectum manet; sororium tigillum vocant. Hora-
tiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est 14
saxo quadrato.

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, 1
quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum
ingenium dictatoris corrupit, et, quoniam recta consilia haud
bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit.
Igitur ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quae- 2
rens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat
esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios
concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis proditionem re-
servat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Veientibus sociis consilii 3
adsumptis pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque
arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus 4
Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito contra hostes ducit.
Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentis collocat castra. Inter
eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim transierat.
Hi et in acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu, in sinis- 5
tro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus
Veientem hostem derigit suos; Albanos contra legionem
Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam
fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim
ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est 6
erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus,
ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua fortuna rem daret, ea
inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis, qui proximi 7

steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt;
inde eques citato equo nuntiat regi, abire Albanos. Tullus
in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac
8 Pavori. Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent,
redire in proelium iubet, nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo
iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda
terga invadant. Idem imperat, ut hastas equites erigerent.
9 Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum
abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit; qui viderant, id
quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror
ad hostes transit: et audiverant clara voce dictum, et
magna pars Fidenatium, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent,
10 Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Alba-
norum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat
Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore
perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab
11 effusa fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo post-
quam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam
caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pug-
naeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna
atrocior fuit.

1 XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis,
deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratu-
latur, contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod
bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet;
2 sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi inluxit,
paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque
exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos ex-
civere Albanos. Ii novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem
3 Romanum contionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex
conposito armata circumdatur Romana legio. Centurioni-
bus datum negotium erat, ut sine mora imperia exsequeren-
4 tur. Tum ita Tullus infit: "Romani, si umquam ante alias

ullo in bello fuit, quod primum dis inmortalibus gratias
ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proe-
lium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus
quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est, cum
proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio 5
teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec impe-
rium illud meum sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit,
ut nec vobis, ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certa-
mine animus, et hostibus circumveniri se ab tergo ratis
terror ac fuga iniceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, 6
omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si
quo ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius
ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator
belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat
deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum
mortalibus dedero." Centuriones armati Mettium circum- 7
sistunt. Rex cetera ut orsus erat peragit: "Quod bonum
faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque,
Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in
animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere,
unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Ut ex uno
quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in
unum redeat." Ad haec Albana pubes inermis ab armatis 8
saepta in variis voluntatibus communi tamen metu cogente
silentium tenet. Tum Tullus "Metti Fufeti" inquit, "si 9
ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea
disciplina a me adhibita esset: nunc, quoniam tuum in-
sanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum
genus ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur
paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem
ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distrahendum
dabis." Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis in currus earum 10
distentum inligat Mettium, deinde in diversum iter equi
concitati lacerum in utroque curru corpus, qua inhaeserant

vinculis membra, portantes, avertere omnes ab tanta foedi-
tate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium
11 apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum
fuit. In aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse
poenas.

XXIX. Inter haec iam praemissi Albani erant equites,
1 qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde
ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas,
2 non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum
esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris
aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem arma-
torum omnia ferro flammaque miscet, sed silentium triste
3 ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae
metu obliti, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente
consilio rogitantesque alii alios nunc in liminibus starent,
nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervaga-
rentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium
4 instabat, iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis
urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis
ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus
quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque, in
quibus natus quisque educatusque esset, relinquentes exirent,
iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias. Et con-
5 spectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas;
vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum prae-
cipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent
ac velut captos relinquerent deos. Egressis urbem Albanis
6 Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat
solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus
Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit: templis tamen deum—
ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat—temperatum est.

XXX. Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis: duplicatur
1 civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et quo fre-

quentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit, ibique
deinde habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea 2
quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit: Tullios Servilios
Quinctios Geganios Curiatios Cloelios; templumque ordini
ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum
nostrorum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum 3
viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur, equitum decem
turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supple-
mento explevit et novas scripsit.

Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit, genti ea 4
tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque.
Utrimque iniuriae factae ac res nequiquam erant repetitae:
Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores 5
Romanos conprehensos querebatur; Sabini, suos prius in
lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli fere- 6
bantur. Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum virium
partem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam rem nuper
etiam adiectione populi Albani auctam, circumspicere et ipsi
externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum 7
Veientes. Inde ob residuas bellorum iras maxime sollici-
tatis ad defectionem animis voluntarios traxere, et apud
vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit: publico
auxilio nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes—nam de
ceteris minus mirum est—pacta cum Romulo indutiarum
fides. Cum bellum utrimque summa ope pararent, vertique in 8
eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in
agrum Sabinum transire. Pugua atrox ad silvam Malitiosam 9
fuit, ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto
nuper plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repente 10
invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec pugna deinde
illis constare nec fuga explicari sine magna caede potuit.

XXXI. Devictis Sabinis cum in magna gloria magnisque 1
opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum

regi patribusque est in monte Albano lapidibus pluvisse.
2 Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium
in conspectu haud aliter, quam cum grandinem venti
glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere caelo lapides.
3 Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco,
ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut diis quoque
simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana
sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit, obirati cultum relique-
4 rant deum. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale
sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano
monte missa—nam id quoque traditur—seu aruspicum
monitu: mansit certe sollemne, ut, quandoque idem prodi-
gium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.

5 Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde
cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies
dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae
quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longin-
6 quo morbo est inplicatus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum
corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil ante ratus
esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, re-
pente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius
7 degeret, religionibusque etiam populum inpleret. Vulgo
iam homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numa rege fuerat,
requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax
8 veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebant. Ipsum regem
tradunt volventem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam
occulta sollemnia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, opera-
tum iis sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum
id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium
speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum
cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit
annos duos et triginta.

1 XXXII. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab

initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nomina-
verant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem
populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili
regis nepos filia ortus Ancus Marcius erat. Qui ut regnare 2
coepit, et avitae gloriae memor, et quia proximum regnum,
cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat
aut neglectis religionibus aut pravo cultis, longeque anti-
quissimum ratus sacra publica ut ab Numa instituta erant
facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album
relata proponere in publico iubet. Inde et civibus otii
cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes in avi mores atque
instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo 3
regnante ictum foedus erat, sustulerant animos; et, cum
incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res
Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum
regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati.
Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli me- 4
mor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam
fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam
quod illi contigisset otium, sine iniuria id se haud facile
habiturum: temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni,
temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae. Ut 5
tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se
bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum sed
etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente
Aequiculis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit, quo res
repetuntur.

Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repetuntur, 6
capite velato filo—lanae velamen est—"Audi, Iuppiter"
inquit, "audite fines"—cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat—,
"Audiat fas! ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani;
iuste pieque legatus venio verbisque meis fides sit." Peragit 7
deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: "Si ego iniuste
inpieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi exposco, tum

8 patriae compotem me numquam siris esse." Haec, cum
fines suprascandit, haec, quicumque ei primus vir obvius
fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus paucis
verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis peragit.
9 Si non deduntur quos exposcit, diebus tribus et triginta—
10 tot enim sollemnes sunt—peractis bellum ita indicit: "Audi
Iuppiter et tu Iane Quirine diique omnes caelestes vosque
terrestres vosque inferni audite! ego vos testor, populum
illum"—quicumque est, nominat—"iniustum esse, neque
ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu
consulemus, quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur." Cum iis
11 nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his
ferme verbis patres consulebat: "Quarum rerum litium
causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium
patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis
Latinis, quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt,
quas res dari fieri solvi oportuit, dic," inquit ei, quem primum
12 sententiam rogabat, "quid censes?" tum ille: "Puro pioque
duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consentio consciscoque."
Inde ordine alii rogabantur, quandoque pars maior eorum
qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat con-
sensum. Fieri solitum, ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut
sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret, et non minus
13 tribus puberibus praesentibus diceret: "Quod populi Pri-
scorum Latinorum hominesque Prisci Latini adversus popu-
lum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt deliquerunt, quod popu-
lus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit
esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit consensit
conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam
rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latino-
rum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque."
14 Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum
modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum, moremque
eum posteri acceperunt.

XXXIII. Ancus demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus 1
sacerdotibusque aliis exercitu novo conscripto profectus
Politorium urbem Latinorum vi cepit, secutusque morem
regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in
civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit.
Et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini 2
Capitolium atque arcem, Coelium montem Albani inplessent,
Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud
ita multo post Tellenis Ficanaque captis novi cives.
Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod vacuum occu- 3
paverant Prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendae urbis eius
fuit Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Pos- 4
tremo omni bello Latino Medulliam conpulso aliquamdiu
ibi Marte incerto varia victoria pugnatum est: nam et
urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat,
et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens exercitus Latinus
comminus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum 5
omnibus copiis conisus Ancus acie primum vincit, inde
ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis
milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut iunge-
retur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae datae sedes. Ianiculum 6
quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx
hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam ob com-
moditatem itineris ponte Sublicio, tum primum in Tiberim
facto, coniungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud 7
parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis
opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis cum in tanta 8
multitudine hominum discrimine recte an perperam facti
confuso facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem
increscentis audaciae media urbe inminens foro aedificatur.
Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit sed etiam ager finesque: silva
Mesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum,
et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae;
egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretrii amplificata.

1 XXXIV. Anco regnante Lucumo, vir inpiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis—nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat—facultas non fuerat.
2 Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres, Arruns
3 prior quam pater moritur uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui cum ignorans nurum ventrem ferre inmemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab
4 inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum divitiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil summo loco nata, et quae haud facile his, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea,
5 quo innupsisset. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exule advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit, oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum
6 videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimum visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre
7 ortum nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum, et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset.

8 Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans rursus, velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti apte reponit, inde
9 sublimis abit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum

mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare conplexa virum iubet: eam
alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse, circa
summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse, levasse humano
superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet.
Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi 10
sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum
edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiae- 11
que faciebant, et ipse fortunam benigno adloquio, comitate
invitandi beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando adiu-
vabat, donec in regiam quoque de eo fama perlata est.
Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextreque 12
obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut
publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset,
et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis
testamento institueretur.

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cui- 1
libet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria
par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis
Tarquinius instare, ut quam primum comitia regi creando
fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venatum able- 2
gavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et
orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos
conpositam: cum se non rem novam petere, quippe qui 3
non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed
tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatium non
ex peregrino solum sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et
Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in regnum ultro
accitum: se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge
ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis 4
eius, qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se
quam in vetere patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud
paenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, 5
Romanos ritus didicisse: obsequio et observantia in regem

cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso cer-
6 tasse—: haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti con-
sensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera
egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam reg-
nantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam
augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres legit, qui
deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia
7 regis, cuius beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum
cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, prae-
daque inde maiore, quam quanta belli fama fuerat, revecta
ludos opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecit.
8 Tunc primum circo, qui nunc maximus dicitur, designatus
locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula
9 sibi quisque facerent, fori appellati. Spectavere furcis
duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes.
Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti.
10 Sollemnes, deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique
varie appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis
aedificanda divisa sunt loca, porticus tabernaeque factae.

1 XXXVI. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem pa-
rabat, cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque
ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes,
quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset.
2 Itaque trepidatum Romae est. Et primo dubia victoria
magna utrimque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in
castra hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad conparan-
dum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis
deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnis Titienses Luceres, quas
centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit, suo-
3 que insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romu-
lus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate
augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves ad-
4 dixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem

ut ferunt, "Age dum," inquit, "divine tu, inaugura, fierine
possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio." Cum ille in augu-
rio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, "Atqui hoc
animo agitavi," inquit, "te novacula cotem discissurum:
cape haec et perage, quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt."
Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse cotem ferunt. Statua 5
Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio, in
gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit, cotem quoque eodem
loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi
eius monumentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum 6
tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi
auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa
rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, dirimerentur. Neque tum 7
Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit, numero
alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in
tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modo sub isdem nomi-
nibus qui additi erant appellati sunt, quas nunc, quia gemi-
natae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sa- 1
binis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat
Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis
qui magnam vim lignorum in Anienis ripa iacentem ar-
dentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa
ligna, et pleraque in ratibus inpacta sublicis cum haere-
rent pontem incendunt. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem 2
attulit Sabinis, effusis eadem fugam inpedit, multique mor-
tales, cum hostes effugissent, in flumine ipso periere;
quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius
paene, quam nuntiari posset, insignem victoriam fecere.
Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit: utrimque ab 3
cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum
acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent
modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed

4 subito in fugam averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant; et pauci tenuere, maxima pars, ut ante dictum
5 est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium—id votum Vulcano erat—ingenti cumulo accensis pergit porro in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere;
6 et quamquam male gestae res erant, nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iere obviam Sabini tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi perditis iam prope rebus pacem petiere.

1 XXXVIII. Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum, Egerius—fratris hic filius erat regis—Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita
2 accipio eamque deditionis formulam esse: rex interrogavit, "Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Conlatino, ut vos populumque Conlatinum dederetis?" "Sumus." "Estne populus Conlatinus in sua potestate?" "Est." "Deditisne vos populumque Conlatinum, urbem agros aquam terminos delubra utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?" "Dedimus." "At ego recipio."
3 Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam redit.
4 Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est; ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.

5 Maiore inde animo pacis opera inchoata quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset,
6 quam militiae fuisset: nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino beoll turbatum erat, urbem, qua nondum munierat, cingere parat; et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis

haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim
ductis siccat; et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam 7
voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim
amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis.

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regia prodigium visum, eventu- 1
que mirabile fuit: puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit
nomen, caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. Plurimo 2
igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos
reges, et, cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum
ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque iam tumultu moveri
vetuisse puerum, donec sua sponte experrectus esset. Mox 3
cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum
viro Tanaquil, "Viden tu puerum hunc," inquit, "quem tam
humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam
rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae:
proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni
indulgentia nostra nutriamus." Inde puerum liberum loco 4
coeptum haberi erudirique artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnae
fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod diis cordi
esset. Iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae, nec, cum quaere-
retur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla
arte conferri potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit.

Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus cre- 5
dere prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse.
Eorum magis sententiae sum, qui Corniculo capto Servi
Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso
uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam
nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio
partum Romae edidisse Prisci Tarquini domo. Inde tanto 6
beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum,
ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse;
fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus
venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

1 XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare
coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud patres
2 plebemque longe maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum
Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habue-
rant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae
advenam non modo vicinae sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis,
3 tum inpensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio
quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad
servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere
annum quam Romulus, deo prognatus, deus ipse, tenuerit
regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id Servius, serva natus,
possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis tum praecipue
id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva
non modo advenis sed servis etiam regnum Romae pateret.
4 Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et
iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium
eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset,
rex futurus erat quam privatus; tum Servio occiso quem-
cumque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni heredem
facturus videbatur—: ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur.
5 Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus
consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo
regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se
omnes apparitores regios convertunt. Inde, cum ambo
regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam per-
6 venisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primo uterque vociferari
et certatim alter alteri obstrepere. Coerciti ab lictore et
iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex
7 composito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus aver-
teret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in
vulnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

1 XLI. Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant exce-
pissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde

concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset. Tanaquil
inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eiecit; simul
quae curando vulneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset,
sedulo conparat, simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia mo-
litur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum 2
ostendisset, dextram tenens orat, ne inultam mortem soceri,
ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. "Tuum est," inquit, 3
"Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum, qui alienis manibus
pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere,
qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni
portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc
expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis,
non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia tor-
pent, at tu mea consilia sequere." Cum clamor impetusque 4
multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium
per fenestras in novam viam versus—habitabat enim rex ad
Iovis Statoris—populum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono 5
animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu, ferrum haud
alte in corpus descendisse, iam ad se redisse; inspectum vul-
nus absterso cruore, omnia salubria esse. Confidere prope
diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Servio Tullio iubere popu-
lum dicto audientem esse, eum iura redditurum obiturum-
que alia regis munia esse. Servius cum trabea et lictoribus 6
prodit, ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum
se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam
exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae
fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam fac-
tum est conploratione in regia orta. Servius praesidio firmo
munitus primus iniussu populi voluntate patrum regnavit.
Anci liberi iam tum conprensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere 7
regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam
Pometiam exulatum ierant.

XLII. Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam 1

privatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus
adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini libe-
rum esset, duas filias iuvenibus regiis Lucio atque Arrunti
Tarquiniis iungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem
2 humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos
infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune ad prae-
sentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus—iam enim
3 indutiae exierant—aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello
et virtus et fortuna enituit Tulli; fusoque ingenti hostium
exercitu haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos
periclitaretur, Romam rediit.

4 Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus, ut,
quem ad modum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset, ita
Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinum-
que, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid
5 interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Censum enim instituit,
rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio, ex quo bello pacis-
que munia non viritim ut ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum
fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex
censu descripsit vel paci decorum vel bello.

1 XLIII. Ex iis, qui centum milium aeris aut maiorem
censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas
2 seniorum ac iuniorum: prima classis omnes appellati;
seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut
foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea clipeum
ocreae lorica, omnia ex aere; haec ut tegumenta corporis
3 essent: tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic
classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia
facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello ferrent.
4 Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septua-
ginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iuniori-
busque, viginti conscriptae centuriae. Arma imperata scutum
5 pro clipeo, et praeter loricam omnia eadem. Tertiae classis

in quinquaginta milium censum esse voluit. Totidem cen-
turiae et haec, eodemque discrimine aetatium factae; nec
de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In
quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium; totidem 6
centuriae factae; arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et
verrutum datum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta 7
factae. Fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In
his accensi, cornicines tubicinesque, in tres centurias dis-
tributi. Undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc 8
minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit: inde una
centuria facta est immunis militia. Ita pedestri exercitu
ornato distributoque equitum ex primoribus civitatis duo-
decim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus 9
ab Romulo institutis, sub isdem, quibus inauguratae erant,
nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex
publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae,
quae bina milia aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec
omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera.

Deinde est honos additus: non enim, ut ab Romulo tra- 10
ditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem
vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est; sed gradus
facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis
omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim voca- 11
bantur primi, octoginta inde primae classis centuriae primum
peditum vocabantur; ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut
secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere umquam infra ita
descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet 12
hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta
tribus duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum senio-
rumque, ad institutam ab Servio Tullio summan non con-
venire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibusque et 13
collibus, qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus appellavit, ut
ego arbitror a tributo—nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu
conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est;—neque eae tribus

ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.

1 XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit: ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque
2 centuriis in campo Martio prima luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit, idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia LXXX eo lustro civium censa dicuntur. Adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor eorum, qui arma ferre possent, eum numerum fuisse.

3 Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem: ita
4 pomerium profert. Pomerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse: est autem magis circamoerium, locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset, quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt, et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati profereba tur.

1 XLV. Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul
2 et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum. Id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare

mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice
privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat.
Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum
Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea 3
erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens
armis certatum fuerat.

Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum
ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam armis videbatur, uni
se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii
recuperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae 4
dicitur mirandi magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas
aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum
ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est; 5
et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam cives Dianae immo-
lassent, ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad 6
antistitem fani Dianae, Sabinusque, ut primum apta dies
sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum
Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum
eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor
responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur: "Quidnam tu hospes
paras?" inquit, "inceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin
tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praefluit
Tiberis." Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio 7
responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit
ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id
mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI. Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum 1
possederat, tamen, quia interdum iactari voces a iuvene
Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata
prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso
ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare;
tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante, rex
est declaratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi 2

regni minuit: immo eo inpensius, quia de agro plebis adversa patrum voluntate senserat agi, criminandi Servii apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia
3 inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas, ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere
4 partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius—Prisci Tarquinii regis filius neposne fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim—fratrem habuerat Arruntem Tarquinium,
5 mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur, fortuna credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores
6 possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum; spernere sororem, quod virum
7 nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere quam cum
8 inpari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, dii dedissent virum, domi se prope diem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adulescentem suae temeritatis implet. Ita Lucius Tarquinius et Tullia minor prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante.

1 XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, in-

festius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud
spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum con-
quiscere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent: non
sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita ser-
viret; defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset 2
se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare
regnum mallet. "Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, 3
et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata
res est, quod istic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris?
Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, pere- 4
grina regna moliri necesse est; di te penates patriique et
patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et
nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec 5
parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut
regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinios
aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratris similior
quam patris." His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, 6
nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina
mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua
regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa, regio semine
orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.
His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et 7
prensare minorum maxime gentium patres, admonere paterni
beneficii, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; adlicere donis iuvenes;
tum de se ingentia pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus
locis crescere. Postremo, ut iam agendae rei tempus visum 8
est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde
omnibus perculsis pavore in regia sede pro curia sedens
patres in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari
iussit. Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, 9
alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo
attoniti et iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius male- 10
dicta ab stirpe ultima orsus, servum servaque natum post
mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea,

inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non
11 auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupasse. Ita
natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum,
ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus
12 agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera, quae
communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis;
instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum
fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi vellet, egentissimis
largiretur.

1 XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset tre-
pido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna
voce, "Quid hoc," inquit, "Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu auda-
cia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in sede considere
2 mea?" Cum ille ferociter ad haec: se patris sui tenere
sedem, multo quam servum potiorem, filium regis, regni
heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse
dominis; clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et con-
cursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum
3 qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate iam etiam ipsa
cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior
medium arripit Servium, elatumque e curia in inferiorem
partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad cogendum senatum in
4 curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum.
Ipse prope exsanguis [cum semianimis regio comitatu domum
se reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum]
ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant,
5 interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere,
admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis
constat, in forum invecta nec reverita coetum virorum
6 evocavit virum e curia, regemque prima appellavit. A quo
facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu cum se domum reciperet,
pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium
nuper fuit, flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum,

ut in collem Esquiliarium eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque
inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque dominae
Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde 7
traditur scelus monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum
vocant, quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri Tullia
per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque san-
guinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo contaminata ipsa
respersaque tulisse ad penates suos virique sui, quibus ira-
tis malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus seque-
rentur.—Servius Tullius regnavit annos IIII et XL ita, 8
ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemu-
latio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod
cum illo simul iusta ac legitima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum 9
tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius
esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt,
ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti
intervenisset.

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo 1
cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura
prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans;
primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, 2
interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso
adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circum-
saepsit. Neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim 3
habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus
regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate civium nihil spei 4
reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus
incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se
solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exilium 5
agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos,
sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset. Praecipue 6
ita patrum numero inminuto statuit nullos in patres legere,
quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset, minusque per se

7 nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum
a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit,
domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit, bellum
pacem foedera societates per se ipse cum quibus voluit
8 iniussu populi ac senatus fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi
maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus
tutior inter cives esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus
eorum sed adfinitates quoque iungebat. Octavio Mamilio
9 Tusculano—is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae
credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus—ei Mamilio
filiam nuptum dat, perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos
amicosque eius conciliat.

1 L. Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum pro-
ceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae
conveniant indicit: esse quae agere de rebus communibus
2 velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce. Ipse Tarquinius
diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam sol occideret
venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis iactata sermoni-
3 bus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in ab-
sentem Tarquinium erat invectus: haud mirum esse Superbo
inditum Romae cognomen.—Iam enim ita clam quidem
mussitantes, volgo tamen eum appellabant;—an quicquam
superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum?
4 Principibus longe a domo excitis ipsum, qui concilium in-
dixerit, non adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam, ut, si
iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere,
5 adfectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene
crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum par-
ricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic quidem
6 alienigenae, debere: sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii
super alios trucidentur, exulatum eant, bona amittant, quid
spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam
quemque inde abituros neque magis observaturos diem con-

cilii quam ipse, qui indixerit, observet. Haec atque alia 7
eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo iisque
artibus opes domi nactus cum maxime dissereret, intervenit
Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tar- 8
quinium salutandum; qui silentio facto monitus a proximis,
ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem
ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium cura reconciliandi
eos in gratiam moratum esse; et quia ea res exemisset
illum diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id 9
quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam
breviorem esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium,
paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum
infortunium esse.

LI. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex 1
concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam vi-
debatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur,
ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat,
Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non 2
poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per ad-
versae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro cor-
rupit, in deversorium eius vim magnam gladiorum inferri
clam sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius 3
paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum quasi
re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum
quadam providentia inlatam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse.
Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, 4
ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse
hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod auctor
concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis 5
insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit.
Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi
ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu
armatusque venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse 6

numerum ad eum convectum, Id vanum necne sit, extemplo
sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant
7 Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio
hesterna et mora Tarquini, quod videbatur ob eam differri
caedis potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum
animis, tamen nisi gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existi-
8 maturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum
circumsistunt custodes; conprehensisque servis, qui caritate
domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis
deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta res visa,
iniectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum con-
9 cilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox
invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis, ut indicta causa
novo genere leti deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate
superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

1 LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius
conlaudatisque, qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto
2 parricidio merita poena adfecissent, ita verba fecit: posse
quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab
Alba oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur, quo ab Tullo
res omnis Albana cum coloniis suis in Romanum cesserit
3 imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa
censere, ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna
populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur, quam urbium
excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre
deinde suo regnante perpessi sint, semper aut expectent aut
4 patiantur. Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam
in eo foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita
nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et
Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat
5 documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque iuniori-
bus Latinorum, ut ex foedere die certa ad lucum Ferentinae
6 armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis

ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones inposuit.

LIII. Nec, ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus 1
fuit: quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis 2
bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi cum divendita 3
praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset, concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi, quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.

Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios 4
propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, adgressus est. Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi faciendis 5
aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens: iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum 6
quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut quam in curia solitudinem fecerit, domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat. Se quidem inter tela et gladios 7
patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum, quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus 8
non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volscosque se inde et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos

sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellumarmaque
se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum
10 inventurum. Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro
inde abiturus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur.
Vetant mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad
11 ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremo saeviturum,
si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futu-
rumque credere brevi, ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub
Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

1 LIV. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de
aliis rebus adsentire se veteribus Gabinis diceret quibus eae
notiores essent; ipse identidem belli auctor esse, et in eo
sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi
vires nosset, sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam
2 civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent. Ita
cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret,
ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expedi-
tiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis
3 vana accresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi
cum inscia multitudine, quid ageretur, proelia parva inter
Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res
superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum
Sex. Tarquinium dono deum sibi missum ducem credere.
4 Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter,
praedam munifice largiendo tanta caritate esse, ut non pater
5 Tarquinius potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque
postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat,
tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit,
quidnam se facere vellet, quando quidem, ut omnia unus
6 Gabiis posset, ei dii dedissent. Huic nuntio, quia, credo,
dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex
velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequente
nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum

capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando expectando- 7
que responsum nuntius fessus, ut re inperfecta, redit Gabios,
quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit, refert: seu ira seu odio
seu superbia insita ingenio nullam eum vocem emisisse.
Sexto ubi, quid vellet parens, quidve praeciperet tacitis 8
ambagibus, patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud
populum, alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit.
Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio
erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus 9
fuga, aut in exilium acti sunt, absentiumque bona iuxta
atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde prae- 10
daeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum
publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina
res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

LV. Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum 1
gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia
urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum, ut Iovis
templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominis-
que relinqueret: Tarquinios reges ambos, patrem vovisse,
filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area 2
esset tota Iovis templique eius, quod inaedificaretur, exau-
gurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi a T. Tatio
rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae
vota, consecrata inaugurataque postea fuerant. Inter prin- 3
cipia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam
tanti imperii molem traditur deos; nam cum omnium sacel-
lorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano non
addixere. Idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non 4
motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evoca-
tum sacratis sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere.
Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto secutum aliud magnitu- 5
dinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum
integra facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur appa-

6 ruisse, quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii
caputque rerum fore portendebat; idque ita cecinere vates,
quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam
ex Etruria acciverant. Augebatur ad inpensas regis animus.
7 Itaque Pometinae manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen
operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere.
8 Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim
quadraginta ea sola talenta fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadra-
9 ginta milia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit,
quippe summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda
sperandam, et nullius ne horum quidem magnificentiae ope-
rum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

1 LVI. Intentus perficiendo templo fabris undique ex
Etruria accitis non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus,
sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum haud parvus et ipse
militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur
2 se templa deum exaedificare manibus suis, quam postquam
et ad alia, ut specie minora sic laboris aliquanto maioris,
traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque
maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub
terram agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec
3 magnificentia quicquam adaequare potuit. His laboribus
exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset,
oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii
fines volebat, Signiam Circeiosque colonis misit, praesidia urbi
futura terra marique.

4 Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex co-
lumna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia
fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pectus
5 quam anxiis inplevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia
Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico
exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris
6 oraculum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli

alii committere ausus duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate
terras, ignotiora maria, in Graeciam misit. Titus et Arruns 7
profecti. Comes iis additus L. Iunius Brutus, Tarquinia,
sorore regis, natus, iuvenis longe alius ingenio, quam
cuius simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis in
quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset,
neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in
fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque
tutus esse, ubi in iure parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex 8
industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se suaque
praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit
cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille
populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua.
Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius 9
quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato ad
id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per ambages
effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum est, perfectis 10
patris mandatis cupido incessit animos iuvenum sciscitandi,
ad quem eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. Ex
infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt: "Imperium summum
Romae habebit qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum
matri tulerit." Tarquinius Sextus, qui Romae relictus 11
fuerat, ut ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem
summa ope taceri iubent; ipsi inter se, uter prior, cum
Romam redissent, matri osculum daret, sorti permittunt.
Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolap- 12
sus cecidisset, terram osculo contigit, scilicet quod ea com-
munis mater omnium mortalium esset. Reditum inde 13
Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos bellum summa vi parabatur.

LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in ea regione 1
atque in ea aetate, divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa
belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari exhaustus
magnificentia publicorum operum, tum praeda delenire

2 popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno
infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministerio ac servili
tam diu habitos opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata
3 res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum
processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes.
4 In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis
liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis quam
5 militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium conviviis
6 comisationibusque inter se terebant. Forte potantibus his
apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius
Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque
7 laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso Collatinus
negat verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri,
quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. "Quin, si vigor
iuventae inest, conscendimus equos, invisimusque praesentes
nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit, quod
necopinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis." Incaluerant
8 vino. "Age sane!" omnes. Citatis equis avolant Romam.
Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent,
9 pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut
regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus
viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter
lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt.
10 Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens
vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne; victor maritus comiter
invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido
Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit; cum forma tum spectata
11 castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo
in castra redeunt.

1 LVIII. Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio
2 Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus
benigne ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale
cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis

tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, "Tace Lucretia," inquit: "Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est, moriere, si emiseris vocem."
Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem 3
inminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem
animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat et ne mortis quidem metu 4
inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus; cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata
dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam 5
velut victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant: ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Spurius
Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum 6
L. Iunio Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae obortae. Quaerentique viro, "Satin salve?" "Minime," inquit: "quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia?
Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum 7
corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons: mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque haud inpune adultero fore.
Sex. est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi 8
armatus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc
abstulit gaudium." Dant ordine omnes fidem; consolantur 9
aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti: mentem peccare non corpus, et unde consilium
afuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos," inquit, "videritis, quid illi 10
debeatur: ego me etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero;
nec ulla deinde inpudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet." Cultrum, 11
quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit,

prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat vir paterque.

1 LIX. Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex volnere Lucretiae extractum manante cruore prae se tenens, "Per hunc," inquit, "castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque, dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro igni, quacumque dehinc vi possim, exsecuturum, nec illos nec
2 alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum." Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram Brutum, iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem,
3 secuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indig-
4 nitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris maestitia, tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque, quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos.
5 Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest, sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde pari praesidio relicto Collatiae ad portas, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam profecti.
6 Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit armata multitudo, pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid sit, haud temere esse rentur.
7 Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum
8 advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et

miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa
mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia 9
ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque
exhauriendas demersae: Romanos homines, victores omnium
circa populorum, opifices ac lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos.
Indigna Servi Tulli regis memorata caedis et invecta corpore 10
patris nefando vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum
dii. His atrocioribusque credo aliis, quae praesens rerum 11
indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit,
memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium
regi abrogaret, exulesque esse iuberet L. Tarquinium cum
coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunioribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, 12
lectis armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exer-
citum Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe
Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit.
Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit execrantibus 13
quacumque incedebat invocantibusque parentum furias viris
mulieribusque.

LX. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis cum re nova 1
trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit
viam Brutus—senserat enim adventum—, ne obvius fieret;
eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam,
Tarquinius Romam venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae 2
exiliumque indictum; liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere,
exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui
exulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt; Sextus Tarquinius Gabios
tamquam in suum regnum profectus ab ultoribus veterum
simultatium, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque concierat, est
interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque 3
et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad liberatam
annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde com- 4
itiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Servi Tulli
creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

NOTES.

NOTE.—L. S. refers to *Latin Syntax and Composition* (now entitled *Latin Composition*), published by University Tutorial Press Ld.; S. G. refers to *Smith's Smaller Latin Grammar.*

PREFACE. § 1. **perscripserim**: the mood is due to attraction to that of *facturus sim*, which is an indirect question. The ordinary direct form of the hypothesis would be *faciam . . . si perscripsero.* **operae pretium**: lit. "the price of (one's) labour," *i.e.* "worth (one's) while;" *operae* is here genitive, but in the phrase *est operae* (cp. xxiv. 6 *n.*) it is predicative dative.

si sciam . . . ausim: L. S. § 250 (*b*); S. G. § 426. For *ausim* see xxiv. 8 *n.* *Satis*, when joined to verbs and adjectives, may often be translated by "quite."

§ 2. **videam**: after *quippe qui.* L. S. § 274; S. G. § 477. **cum . . . tum.** See viii. 2 *n.*

rudem vetustatem: *i.e.* the unpolished style of the older historians.

§ 3. **principis**: adjective, as in xii. 8. **pro virili parte**: "in proportion to a man's share," *i.e.* "as far as I can," "to the best of my abilities." **memoriae**: dat. with *consuluisse.*

in obscuro: the use of an adjective of three terminations as a noun is exceedingly common in Livy. So we find *ex occulto*, *ex aperto*, *ex composito*, *ad extremum*, *ad summum*, etc. Adjectives of two terminations are much less commonly so used.

nomini: used in the derived sense of "reputation," just as *name* in English.

§ 4. **et immensi operis**: the *et* is answered by that preceding *legentium.* Properly, *et . . . et . . .* should couple co-ordinate words, *i.e.* words standing in the same syntactical position. But the number of words intervening in this case leads to a change of construction. **operis**: L. S. § 133; S. G. § 274.

ut quae: "seeing that it is one which . . ." L. S. § 274; S. G. § 477. The relative might stand alone with the subjunctive in this causal sense, as with *creverit;* but Livy prefers to add *ut* or *quippe* in most cases. *Repeto* is to "seek back," *i.e.* "to go over in mind" from the present to the commencement, and so "to recount."

eo . . . ut: more usually we have *adeo . . . ut.* The *ut* is, of course, consecutive here. The common usage of *eo* is as the

antecedent to *quo* (1) in comparative sentences, where it must be translated "in proportion as;" or (2) as a simple adverb of place = "thither, . . . whither."

quin: L. S. § 244, NOTE 1; S. G. § 461 (2).

haec nova: "the recent events of the present." Livy alludes to the civil wars by which Caesar obtained the dictatorship in the battles of Pharsalia, Munda, and Thapsus, and to those which followed his death—the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), the quarrels of the second Triumvirate, and the victory of Augustus over Antonius at Actium (31 B.C.). The same troubles are referred to in the following lines.

tot per annos: the civil wars lasted from 49 B.C. to 31 B.C., with only slight and half-hearted intermissions.

§ 6. **conditam condendamve**: see note on *conditum*, iii. 4. The gerundive here approaches in meaning a future participle passive; thus *urbs condenda* = a city to be founded, *i.e.* that is to be founded. So *ante urbem condendam*, before the city was to be built, before it *began to be* built.

monumentis: properly anything which records or preserves the remembrance of a thing (*moneo*); here, "a history."

§ 7. **si cui**: L. S. § 168. S. G. § 383. **consecrare**: "to make holy" (*sacer*), *i.e.* "to invest with an appearance of sanctity."

potissimum: the superlative adverb of *potis* (*pote*), *potius* = "rather than anything (any one) else."

tam et hoc: *tam* qualifies *aequo*, while *et* is "even."

§ 8. **discrimine**: "a dividing" (*discerno*), and so "a question." Hence comes the common signification of "crisis," as a point of time in which matters are about to be *decided* one way or other.

§ 9. **ad illa**: "the following points." These are explained in the indirect questions which follow. **domi militiaeque**: L. S. § 122, NOTE 3; S. G. § 258.

disciplina: "rule of life," "moral discipline." The metaphor in the following lines (*desidentes—lapsi—praecipites*) is from old buildings which settle down, totter, and at last fall.

§ 10. **hoc illud est**: "this is that which is. . . ." The *illud* is explained by the substantival clause *omnis . . . intueri*.

tibi tuaeque: datives of advantage. The pronoun of the second person is occasionally used in Latin for an indefinite subject, as so commonly in English.

imitere . . . vites: after *quod* in a final sense (= *ut id*). L. S. § 278; S. G. § 478. **capias**: "you may select" (if you choose to do so) is the potential subj., *i.e.* the hypothetical subj. of a conditional clause with the protasis suppressed. **inceptu . . . exitu**: L. S. § 99; S. G. § 544.

§ 11. **nec in quam civitatem** = *nec civitas* (*fuit*) *in quam*. **immigraverint**: L. S. § 283; S. G. § 479. So *fuerit*.

tanto . . . quanto: L. S. § 130; S. G. § 321. *Rerum*, like *cupiditatis*, is partitive genitive, dependent on *minus*. L. S. § 141, NOTE 2; S. G. § 270.

§ 12. **luxum**: "actual indulgence," different from *luxuria*, which

= "a tendency to indulgence." *Perdo* is used as the active voice of *pereo*, which is intransitive, "to go to ruin." The genitives are objective, as *deorum dearumque* below.

absint : jussive subjunctive. **necessariae erunt:** Livy commonly uses *forsitan* (as if it were *fortasse*) with the indicative, though in Cicero it takes subjunctive.

§ 13. **ut . . . darent**: the subjunctive is final, and the subordinate clause stands as object to the verbal notion implied in *precationibus*. Verbs of asking admit two accusatives (L. S. § 35; S. G. § 243), and the corresponding nouns may take both a genitive of the person asked and an object clause of the thing asked for.

orsis : neut. plur. participle used as noun, to which *operis* stands as defining genitive. **tantum** : "only," goes with *orsis*.

Ch. 1. § 1. **constat** : on this verb depends all the construction (accus. and infinitive) to the end of § 4. The various verbs of the minor clauses—*fuerunt*, *quaerebant*, etc.—are in the indicative, as expressing the remarks of Livy personally, and not an integral part of the "general belief" (*id quod constabat*). L. S. § 309, NOTE 2; S. G. § 467, *Obs.*

saevitum esse: lit. "that it was cruelly raged against;" *saevio* being an intransitive verb, can only be constructed impersonally in the passive voice. In such cases the object, if any, is constructed exactly as with the active verb, but is usually turned into the subject of the English translation. L. S. § 60; S. G. § 120.

duobus : dative after *abstinuisse*. L. S. 42; S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2. This verb is more commonly used intransitively = *to refrain from*, when it is followed by the simple ablative. L. S. § 52.

§ 3. **et in quem** : the whole of this sentence is parenthetic, *i.e.* independent of the orat. obliqua introduced by *constat*, and is therefore expressed in the indicative mood. The subject to *vocatur* is of course *locus*, which is transferred into the relative clause by a common idiom.

Troiano : the English sentence, "The boy whose name is Iulus," may in Latin be rendered in one of three ways: (1) *puer cui nunc cognomen Iulo* (dat.), where the predicative noun is attracted to the case of the relative. L. S. § 147; S. G. § 296, *Obs.* This is the construction exemplified in *Troiano*, and is the most idiomatic. (2) *puer cui nunc cognomen Iulus*, where the predicative noun is in apposition with *cognomen*. Cf. the sentence immediately below, *Troia et huic loco nomen est*, and § 11. (3) *puer cui nunc cognomen Iuli* (gen.). This is unusual, and not to be imitated.

appellati : sc. *sunt*. For the number see L. S. § 11, NOTE 2; S. G. § 222. It may be remarked, once and for all, that the ellipse of the third persons of the present indicative of *sum*, and the present infinitive, whether used as auxiliaries or otherwise, constantly occurs in prose narrative.

§ 4. **ab simili clade** : Cicero would have omitted the preposition, but it is by no means rare in Livy with ablatives of cause,

instrument, etc. As a rule, the preposition *a* or *ab* marks the ablative of the agent or of origin. In § 5, *ab immenso errore*, it signifies "after."

maiora rerum initia: "greater beginnings of things," for *maiorum initia rerum*, "beginnings of greater things." This transfer of the adjective from the noun to which it logically belongs to grammatical agreement with another is known as *hypallage*.

ad Laurentem: *ad* when joined to names of localities signifies "towards" or "near to." Simple "to," if requiring a preposition at all (see L. S. § 112, *foll.*; S. G. § 259), is expressed by *in*.

tenuisse: sc. *cursum*. So in English, "He held on (his course) to Spain."

§ 5. **ut quibus**: L. S. § 274; S. G. § 477. Hence the mood in *superessent*. The (suppressed) antecedent of *quibus* is, as usual, *ii* or *viri*. **agerent**: L. S. § 273; S. G. § 484.

§ 6. **victum**: the infinitive depends on *tradunt*, and the orat. obliqua continues to the end of § 9. The same verb must of course be repeated with the second *alii*.

§ 7. **canerent**: intransitive, "before the signal sounded." The mood is due, like the other subjunctives below, primarily to the orat. obliqua. L. S. § 309; S. G. § 467.

percunctatum: participle, sc. *Latinum*, subject of *sanxisse*. So *admiratum*. The verbs *essent—profecti (essent)—exissent* would be in the subjunctive even in orat. recta, in accordance with L. S. § 227; S. G. § 433: *Percunctatus est deinde, qui mortales essent*.

§ 8. **audierit**: the ordinary sequence would be *audivisset;* but it is a feature of Livy's style to use primary in place of historic tenses in orat. obliqua, for the sake of bringing the scene more vividly before the reader's mind, without particular reference to the order in time of the event related. Upon *audierit* depend the two following clauses, down to *quaerere*.

§ 9. **ictum**: "was ratified;" lit. "struck" (*ferio*, *ici*, *ictum*), from the custom of sacrificing a victim to ratify a peace.

publico: sc. *foederi*. The "domestic bond" is that of Aeneas' marriage to the daughter of Latinus.

§ 10. **utique**: "anyhow," *i.e.* "over and above everything else."

§ 11. **nomine uxoris**: her name was Lavinia.

stirpis: collateral form of the ordinary nominative, *stirps*.

Ch. 2. § 1. **pacta**: this perf. participle is from *pacisco* (act), not from the passive deponent *paciscor*. From the general meaning *agreed upon*, *covenanted*, *promised*, it acquires the particular meaning of *promised to*, *betrothed*.

§ 2. **acies**: this word is used for (1) a point or edge; (2) a sword; (3) a line of armed men, as here; (4) a battle; and (5) keen sight. *Laeta* is predicative.

§ 3. **Caere**: an indeclinable noun, here standing as dative after *imperitans*. L. S. § 43; S. G. § 291, 16.

nimio plus quam satis tutum: lit. "by too much more than was

sufficiently safe," *i.e.* "far more than was quite safe." **esset**: L. S. § 309 ; S. G. § 467.

haud gravatim: "not reluctantly," *i.e.* "very readily." Such an expression, where an assertion is conveyed in a negative rather than a positive form, is called *litotes* (Gk. *plainness*) or *meiosis* (Gk. *lessening*), as diminishing the strength of the simple positive statement.

§ 5. **studio ac fide**: ablatives of respect. L. S. § 148 ; S. G. § 322. So *opibus*. *In dies* differs from *quotidie* in being used only with comparatives (*e.g.* *magis*), or with verbs denoting *increase* or the reverse.

famâ: ablative. L. S. § 51 ; S. G. § 318. It must not be taken as nominative, for in that case we should require *eius* in place of *sui*. The "Sicilian Strait" is the Strait of Messina.

posset: after *cum* concessive (*although*). L. S. § 264 ; S. G. § 483. **moenibus** is abl. of instrument, "by means of his walls."

§ 6. **secundum**: "favourable." The word is really a gerundive of *sequor* used as an adjective. Cp. the expression *secundus ventus*, "a (following, *i.e.*) fair wind," and the adjectives *oriundus*, "sprung;" *volvendus*, "rolling;" *rotundus*, "wheeling," hence "round;" *blandus*, "blowing." **Aeneae**: co-ordinate with *Latinis*. L. S. § 143, NOTE 1 ; S. G. § 296.

situs est: "he was buried." Cp. the commencing words of epitaphs: "HIC SITVS EST," "HIC SITI SVNT." This meaning of *sino* is rare, but derived from its original sense of "to set down." So *pono* (*i.e.* *po* = old prep. *post* + *sino*), to set down.

ius fasque: *ius* is *human* right; *fas* is *divine* law. The Romans were punctilious in the names by which they addressed a divinity.

super: "above," *i.e.* on a hill overlooking the river. **Indiges** cannot be translated in any single English word. It signifies a deity who has appeared in human form and "dwelt among" his people (from *indu*, old form of *in* ; and *gen-*, *gigno*, to be born). Perhaps "incarnate" may represent the idea.

Ch. 3. § 1. **tutela muliebri**: ablative of attendant circumstances. *Indoles* is "character," "ability."

§ 2. **ambigam**: L. S. § 210 ; S. G. § 430. **adfirmet**: L. S. § 257 ; S. G. § 429. The protasis is suppressed, *sc.* "if he were wise." **certo**: here used as a noun. See note, Pref., § 3.

fuerit: L. S. § 227 ; S. G. § 433 ; for *-ne . . . an* see L. S. § 225 ; S. G. § 436. The same verb must be repeated with *an maior*. The tense is due to that of the principal verb (*ambigam*), which is primary. L. S. § 214 ; S. G. § 423. **maior**: sc. *natu*, "older." **hicine** is the demonstrative pronoun *hicce*, with *e* changed to *-i*, and with the interrogative suffix *-ne* appended. Cp. xxvi. 10.

§ 3. **Creusa matre**: L. S. § 150 ; S. G. § 310. Cp. *Aenea*, below. **Ilio incolumi**: ablative absolute.

Lavini: possessive genitive, not locative. *Abundante multitudine* is ablative absolute.

§ 4. **inter Lavinium**: sc. *conditum*. Observe that in Latin abstract

nouns are avoided, and instead of saying "the foundation of Lavinium," as we do, a participle is used in agreement with a *concrete* noun. So "the death of Caesar" is *Caesar mortuus*. *Albam Longam* is accusative of *town to which*, after the verb of motion *deductam*.

deductam : *deducere* is the technical word for founding a colony.

morte : an ablative of time when.

inter tutelam : "during the regency of a woman (Lavinia)." This meaning of *inter* is common. Cp. vi. 1, *inter tumultum*.

ausi sint : strict sequence would require *auderent*. But Livy uses the perfect, because he regards the event simply as past, without reference to other past events. Roby, § 1516.

§ 5. **ita** : "in such wise," "on such terms that."

§ 8. **Silviis cognomen** : "the surname *of* Silvius." See i. 3, note on *Trojano*. Every Roman had three names : (1) the *nomen*, showing to what *gens* or clan he belonged ; (2) the *cognomen*, showing to what family or branch of the *gens* ; (3) the *praenomen*, which was usually a purely personal name, and indicative of no relationship. To these he might add (4) the *agnomen*, a name expressing some personal peculiarity or achievement. Thus *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus* denotes Scipio of the Publian branch of the *gens Cornelia*, who distinguished himself in Africa.

Albae : locative. L. S. § 148 ; S. G. § 257.

§ 9. **colle** : the Aventine Hill, the southernmost of the seven hills of Rome.

§ 10. **stirpis** : partitive genitive after *maximus*. The gender of *maximus* shows that *stirpis* (f.) cannot be taken as nom.

potuit : here used absolutely, "was of more power."

aetatis : objective genitive with *verecundia*, "respect for age," L. S. § 40 ; S. G. § 268. *Aetas* signifies simply "age," whether young or old. Amulius ought to have respected the seniority of Numitor.

§ 11. **Reae Silviae** : dat. governed by *adimit* ; L. S. § 42 ; S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2. The Vestal virgins were (in historic times at Rome) six young girls of good birth who took a vow of maidenhood for thirty years, and devoted themselves to the service of the goddess Vesta. Their position gave them many privileges, hence it was "a show of honour" to make Rea Silvia one of their number. Their chief duty was the maintenance of the sacred fire of Vesta, which was never allowed to fail. They had a special house, known as the *Regia*, on the slope of the Palatine Hill. Numa is said to have established them at Rome, xx. 3.

Ch. 4. § 1. **secundum** : preposition, "next to."

§ 2. **honestior** : *honestus* (from *honor*, rank, dignity) signifies "honourable," and must never be translated "honest."

§ 3. **iubet** : sc. *rex Amulius*.

§ 4. **adiri** : *adeo*, though intransitive in the active, is here used *personally* in the passive : "the Tiber could not be approached." **iusti** : "regular," such as it was at ordinary seasons. Cp. *iusta legio*, a legion with its ordinary complement of men.

spem : "expectation."

§ 5. **defuncti** : nominative.

Ruminalis, . . . Romularem : Livy means that the latter, the original name, was corrupted unintentionally to *Ruminalis*. The fig-tree grew on the south-west slope of the Palatine.

§ 6. **vastae** : *vastus* is the same word as "waste," and does not mean "vast," "huge."

tenet : intransitive. This usage is common in this phrase. Cp. "the story holds, that . . ." The expression = *ferunt*, and governs the orat. obliqua down to *invenerit*.

expositi erant : this indicative, in the midst of the orat. obliqua, occurs because the parenthesis is one personally introduced by Livy. Cp. note **i.** § 1.

in sicco : lit. on the dry land ; *i.e.* that part which was dry under ordinary circumstances.

mitem : constructed as a secondary predicate with *eam*. In English we should use an adverb, "so gently."

invenerit : for the tense see i. 8, note on *audierit*.

Faustulo : attracted to the (suppressed) dative *ei*, in accordance with the note on i. 3, *Troiano*.

§ 7. **putent** : L. S. § 282, NOTE ; S. G. § 482. *Sunt qui putent* = there are men of a sort to say, such as to say; *sunt qui putant* = there are (a certain number of) men who say.

§ 8. **peragrare** : historic infinitive, L. S. § 103 ; S. G. § 517. So with the remaining infinitives in this chapter. *Segnes* is constructed alike with *in stabulis* and *ad pecora*.

§ 9. **corporibus animisque** : datives of advantage.

subsistere : "to lie in wait for." It commonly means "to withstand," and takes a dative.

grege juvenum : "the numbers of the young men." *Grex* is often used of a *company*, *troop*.

Ch. 5. § 1. **iam tum** : "already, even as early as at that date."

Lupercal : properly used (sc. *antrum*) for the sacred cave of Lupercus, on the Palatine, the central hill of Rome, north-east of the Aventine, and the site of the original settlement of the Romans. See Introduction. It is here used = *Lupercalia*, the annual festival in honour of Lupercus (Faunus, or Pan), which survived to the latest times (hence, *hoc ludicrum*). It was a festival of the men, who ran about the place half-naked, striking and jesting at each other. **Pallanteo** : the real derivation of *Palatium*, *Palatinus*, is from Pales, a god (or goddess) of the flocks, itself ultimately from the root *pa*, to protect, nourish.

§ 2. **Arcadum** : for the declension of *Arcas*, see that of *Troades*, S. G. § 40.

tenuerit : for the tense, cp. *audierit*, i. 8 ; for the mood, L. S. § 309 ; S. G. § 467. The orat. obliqua, which continues to the end of § 3, depends on *ferunt* in § 1.

solemne : neuter adjective used as a noun, as also in § 3. *Solemnis*

from *sollus* (Gk. ὅλος) = *totus* and *annus*, properly signifies "recurring every year," and so "customary." In classical Latin it never means "solemn," a signification the word has acquired in later times, through being associated with the idea of religious observances.

Pana: Greek accusative of Pan (gen. *Panis*).

§ 3. **deditis**: sc. *hominibus*, dative after *insidiatos*.

cum defendisset: the *cum* is causal, and explains why they did not capture Romulus as well as Remus.

ultro: the first meaning of the word is "beyond what one would expect," and so "gratuitously." Here it means that the robbers, who were the real offenders, were scarcely justified in accusing Remus, who was an honest man.

§ 4. **crimini**: the dative of result. L. S. § 144; S. G. § 297, *Obs.* It is more usually called the dative of the predicate. *Dare crimini* is "to put forward as an accusation." The object here is the double clause *impetum fieri*, etc,, and *eos praedas agere*, etc.

§ 5. **sustulisset**: the subjunctive is used rather than the indicative, to show that the statement is part of Faustulus' thoughts; *i.e.* it is an instance of virtual oratio obliqua after *sciebat*. L. S. § 314.

ad id ipsum: not *tempus*, but the clause *expositos . . . infantes*.

§ 6. **prior**: another example of the Latin use of a predicative adjective where we should use an adverb. Cp. vii. 1, *priori Remo augurium venisse fertur;* and iv. 6, note on *mitem*.

Numitori: with *tetigerat animum*. L. S. § 143, NOTE 2; S. G. § 288. Observe the distinction of tense in *haberet . . . audisset*.

eodem pervenit: *lit.* "came to the same point," *i.e.* "reached the same conclusion."

haud procul esset quin: L. S. § 237; S. G. § 461 (1). In this idiom *esset* and the corresponding forms of *sum* (or *absum*) are always impersonal.

regem: Amulius.

Ch. 6. § 1. **obtinendam**: L. S. § 92; S. G. § 537.

scelera: *ostendit* is constructed with three kinds of object in this passage—(1) direct accusative, *scelera*, *originem*, *caedem;* (2) accus. and infin., *se* (*esse*) *auctorem;* (3) an object-clause with *ut*, *ut geniti* (*essent*). *Ut* must be translated "how."

§ 2. **agmine**: "in a body."

ratum efficit: "makes valid," "confirms." *Ratum* is used passively.

§ 3. **re**: "government;" sc. *publica*.

supererat: "was superabundant." The more usual sense of *supersum* is "to survive." **ad id**: the *id* refers to the superabundant portion.

facerent: the mood is due to *qui* in a consecutive sense (= *ita ut ii*). The clauses *parvam . . . fore* are objective to *spem*.

conderetur: see on *sustulisset*, v. 5.

§ 4. **tutelae**: genitive (of secondary predicate, *Roby*). L. S. § 142, NOTE.

essent: the subjunctive is due to attraction to the final *legerent*.

qui . . . qui: for *uter . . . uter*. The use of the interrogative adjective (*qui*, *quae*, *quod*) in lieu of the interrogative pronoun (*quis*, *quae*, *quid*), and *vice versâ*, is not uncommon. Its use for *uter* is much less frequent.

daret . . . regeret: "who was to give, . . . who was to rule." We should have expected *dare deberet* or *quem dare oporteret*. Cp. Livy XXI. 44. 5, *includit nos terminis quos non excedamus* ("which we are not to transgress").

templa: "stations;" sacred spots, marked out with religious formulae, from which to watch for augural signs, which were usually taken from the flight of birds, or from natural phenomena, such as thunder and lightning.

Ch. 7. § 1. **vultures**: in apposition with *augurium*, the subject of *fertur*. Remember that the English sentence, "It is said that Caesar has crossed the Rubicon," becomes in Latin *Caesar Rubiconem traiecisse dicitur* (not *dicitur Caesarem*).

regem: "each as king," primary oblique predicate. It is primary because predicated directly of the subject (*utrumque*), oblique because that subject is an oblique case.

praecepto: lit. "on the ground of the time forestalled," *i.e.* "on the ground of the priority of time." The followers of Remus claimed the kingship for him because he was the first to see any birds. Those of Romulus claimed it because Romulus had seen the greater number. Both ablatives are those of cause.

regnum trahebant: "laid claim to the kingship;" lit. "were for drawing it to themselves."

§ 2. **cum**: preposition. L. S. § 149; S. G. § 312.

fama est: with accus. and infin., it being equal to a verb *declarandi*.

sic deinde: sc. *pereat*.

§ 3. **sacra . . . facit**: "offered sacrifice." The phrase is usually constructed, as here, with a dative of the person to whom the sacrifice is made; it may also take an ablative of the victim sacrificed, as in § 12, below. *Facere* is frequently used in the same sense, without *sacrum*.

Graeco: sc. *ritu*. It is not to be taken as dative with *Herculi*.

§ 4. **memorant**: the verb governs both *abegisse* and *procubuisse*.

qua: sc. *viâ* (ablative of the road by which).

laeto: "luxuriant;" and so regularly when applied to plants and trees.

§ 5. **viribus**: causal ablative with *ferox*. "Emboldened by his strength."

deductura erant = *deduxissent*. The future participle with *eram*, *fueram*, etc., may take the place of the pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis of a hypothetical sentence.

quemque: in apposition with *boves*. The cattle are spoken of as *oxen* in this sentence. In the remainder of the story they are always *cows*. See § 6.

§ 6. **si forte**: "*to see* if haply." The sentence is in reality

hypothetical, the apodosis being entirely suppressed. If supplied, it would be "(thinking that) he should find them there." The sentence thus comes under L. S. § 259 ; S. G. § 427.

animi: this so-called genitive (S. G. § 285, *Obs.*) is now generally held to be locative. L. S. § 122, NOTE 3 ; S. G. § 257. The locative is found regularly with verbs, not with adjectives. *Animi*, in *animi pendere*, is certainly locative, and perhaps is transferred by analogy to adjectival expressions like *animi incertus, dubius, anxius.*

§ 7. **reddita**: "given back (in answer)," "responsive." **ut fit**: "as (usually) happens."

fidem: here to be translated "help." It originally means their "fidelity to one another," *i.e.* "their obligation to stand by one another."

mortem: *occumbo* may be constructed with either the accusative, dative, or ablative, of *mors.*

§ 8. **ea**: with *loca.* Of the two plural forms of *locus, loci* means "passages" (in books), *loca* signifies "a region."

auctoritate: "personal influence," as opposed to "official power" (*imperium*). In later Rome the *imperium* was the "power of the sword" which accompanied the office of *consul*, as commander of the legions.

miraculo literarum: "owing to the marvel of the alphabet," which Evander was said to have brought to Latium. *Literarum* is here simply the plural of *litera*, a letter of the alphabet. Usually *literae* = (1) an epistle, or (2) literature.

artium: L. S. § 40 (*b*) ; S. G. § 276, 2.

miratae fuerant: it is a peculiarity of Livy's style to affect the use of *fui, fueram*, in place of *sum, eram*, in auxiliary tenses.

§ 9. **trepidantium**: "moving excitedly," not necessarily in fear.

caedis: L. S. § 38 and § 40 (*b*) ; S. G. § 280, *Obs.* 2.

audivit: L. S. § 202 ; S. G. § 401, and *Obs.* 1.

aliquantum: adverbial accusative of extent, instead of the more usual ablative of measure, *aliquanto. Aliquid, aliquantum, aliquot*, all signify a *considerable* quantity.

humana: sc. *forma.* Ablative of the thing compared.

§ 10. **accepit**: "heard ;" and so very commonly. For the tense cp. on *audivit*, § 9, above.

cecinit: "prophesied," because the responses of oracles and seers were usually given in verse.

vocet . . . colat: the subjunctive is due to the final force of *quam.* L. S. § 278 ; S. G. § 478.

§ 11. **condita et dicata**: see on iii. 4, first note.

§ 12. **bove**: see note on § 3, above.

§ 15. **fautor**: Romulus is said to have been a "favourer," *i.e.* "advocate," of paying to Hercules the respect due to an immortal, which was merited by the hero's prowess.

Ch. 8. § 1. **unius corpus**: "a single body of people.' For the hypallage, cp. i. 4.

§ 2. **ita . . . sic**: in this way, *i.e.* "only on condition that."

cum . . . tum: "both . . . and." This idiom is very common in Livy, and especially with the ablative, as here. Care must be taken to distinguish this conjunctive *cum* from the preposition. Cp. x. 5, etc.

lictoribus: the twelve lictors constituted the consul's guard of honour in later days. They carried the *fasces* (bundles of rods, *virgae*, and axes, *secures*), which symbolized his power of inflicting both chastisement and death—civil and military penalties.

§ 3. **sententiae**: L. S. § 142; S. G. § 265. **eorum**: possessive genitive, antecedent to *quibus*. The latter word depends on *placet* (impersonal). L. S. § 42; S. G. § 291, 5. The two accusative clauses, *apparitores* (*ductos esse*), *numerum ductum* (*esse*), are the real subjects to the impersonal verb, *quibus placet* (= *qui putant*).

hoc genus: accusative of description, used to qualify *apparitores*. Normal prose usage has ablative or genitive (*huius generis*).

sella curulis: the curule chair, of ivory, was the badge of Patrician magistracies only, such as (originally) the consulship, censorship, dictatorship, and praetorship, which were hence called curule offices.

praetexta: the "bordered" toga (*prae*, *texo*, embroidered in front) was worn by magistrates, and by the sons of nobles until the age for assuming the *toga virilis*, the ordinary unornamented white gown. The *praetexta* was of white wool, bordered with purple, and was called *laticlavium* or *angusticlavium*, according as the border was broad (*latus*) or narrow (*angustus*).

singulos singuli: "one lictor apiece." The use of *singuli* is redundant, and the word need not be translated.

§ 4. **hominum**: partitive genitive, depending on *id*. L. S. § 141, NOTE 2; S. G. 270. It is, as commonly, attracted from the antecedent clause to that of the consequent (*ad id hominum quod tum erat*). *Id* is here a substantive. Translate—"as they were fortifying it in the hope of the population that was to be rather than with a view to that number of inhabitants which existed at the time."

§ 5. **causa**: ablative, "for the sake of," a very common quasi-prepositional use with the genitive. So *gratiâ* in the same sense.

natam: predicate to *prolem*. **sibi**: a kind of ethic dative. L. S. § 143, NOTE 3; S. G. § 290. Most ancient peoples of Greece and Italy boasted that they were autochthonous, or indigenous, or aborigines—all of which words signify "born of the soil on which they dwelt." Such a belief was held as a guarantee of importance.

qui nunc, etc.: "the spot which is now shut in as you descend (from the Capitol) between two groves." *Descendentibus* is a dative of reference, the noun being indefinite, and therefore suppressed (lit. "to (men) coming down").

asylum: a Greek word, meaning "inviolable." It is here constructed as secondary predicate to *locum*.

§ 6. **esset**: subjunctive of indirect question, depending on the noun *discrimine*, as if the Latin were *nec exquirebant*. Before *liber*, *utrum* is omitted.

rerum novarum: "a change." Usually the phrase bears the special meaning of "revolution."

§ 7. **consilium**: "prepared a body of men to guide his forces." *Consilium* is generally abstract "advice," "design," but it becomes concrete, and denotes "the persons who deliberate," a "council." In the latter case it coincides in meaning with *concilium*.

possent: subjunctive after *qui* consecutive ("such as could be"). L. S. § 283; S. G. § 479.

Ch. 9. § 1. **aetatem**: accusative of duration. L. S. § 124; S. G. § 249. *Duratura* is here intransitive. For *quippe quibus*, see L. S. § 274; S. G. § 477. Translate—"But owing to their lack of wives, its greatness was likely to last only a man's lifetime, as was natural in the case of men who had," etc. *Mulier* is to *femina* as "woman" to "female." "Wife" is *uxor* or *coniux*; and the corresponding masculine nouns are respectively *vir* (husband), *mas* (male), and *homo* (man).

§ 2. **ex consilio**: "in accordance with the advice." Cp. *ex setentia*, "according to one's wishes."

peterent: L. S. § 278; S. G. § 478.

§ 3. **urbes**: from this point to the end of § 4 the construction is orat. obliqua, depending on the idea of saying in *qui peterent*, "to ask for." The ellipse must be supplied in translating, *e.g.* "the ambassadors said that," etc.

infimo: substantival.

iuvent: the ordinary sequence would be *iuvarent*, but see i. 8, note on *audierit*.

§ 4. **scire**: sc. *eos*. *satis* frequently = "quite well."

ne gravarentur: L. S. 310; S. G. §§ 420, 470. In orat. recta, *ne gravemini*, or *ne gravati sitis*.

§ 5. **spernebant**: the subject must be supplied; *e.g.* "those who heard it."

aperuissent: L. S. § 227, S. G. § 433. **ecquod**: L. S. § 168, NOTE; S. G. § 83, 13. *Ecquis* or *num quis* takes the place, in questions, of *quis* (*qua*, *quid*), the indefinite pronoun, in statements.

fore: the verb "they said" is to be supplied from *rogitantibus*. Cp. § 3, above, first note.

§ 6. **ad vim spectare**: "to look toward violence," *i.e.* "to look threatening."

dissimulo: to pretend not to be what one is; *simulo*, to pretend to be what one is not.

ex industria: a common phrase = "on purpose." Also *de industria*.

sollemnis: accusative plural. S. G. § 39.

§ 8. **proximi quique**: "all the nearest peoples." *Quisque*, when joined with a superlative, regularly bears this meaning. So *optimus quisque*, "all the best men." *Quisque* is only used in the plural when several *sets* of persons or things are spoken of.

§ 9. **frequentem** (connected with *farcio*, stuff): "crowded." The word does not, except very occasionally, mean "frequent."

§ 10. **eo** : the adverb, "occupied in that direction." More usual would have been *ei* (sc. *spectaculo*). Cp. v. 3, *huic deditis ludicro.*

ex composito : substantival, "by prearrangement."

§ 11. **in quem** : the antecedent (suppressed) is *ab eo:* "by him into whose hands she had fallen."

ex plebe : qualifying *homines*, "men of the lower order."

domos : L. S. § 113 ; S. G. § 260. **deferebant** : "began to carry off." Notice this use of the imperfect.

§ 12. **ferunt** : ("they say") governs the orat. obliqua throughout the section.

ferrent : L. S. § 311 ; S. G. § 468. In orat. recta the word was *fertis?*

ne . . . violaret : final subjunctive. L. S. § 277 ; S. G. §§ 454-6. *Quis*, the indefinite pronoun or adjective, is admissible in statements or commands, only after *ne, si, nisi ;* in questions, *ecquis* or *numquis.*

clamitatum : see i. 1, on *saevitum.*

vocem : "cry." *Talassio* (or *Talassius*) was the cry of the guests who escorted to her husband's house a Roman bride. What Livy says of its origin is of course a fable, as probably is the whole story of the rape of the Sabine women. The real origin of the cry is unknown.

§ 13. **incusantes** : "complaining of the engagement (bond) of a hospitality that was outraged ;" another instance of hypallage, *Violati* being for *violatum.* Cp. i. 4 *n.*

per fas ac fidem : "on the score of divine right and (men's) promises." To do violence during a sacred festival was sacrilege, not to mention that it broke the understood guarantee of peace on the part of those who gave the festival.

§ 14. **ipse** : "in person." The word must often be translated by a periphrasis, e.g. *ipse vide*, I saw with mine own eyes ; *ipse interfeci*, I slew him with my own hand, etc. **patrum** : *their* fathers.

negassent : the *qui* is causal (L. S. § 273 ; S. G. § 477), but the mood would in any case be subjunctive, as the whole of this and the next section are in orat. obliqua. The controlling verb must be supplied. Cp. § 2, note on *urbes.*

liberum : genitive plural. S. G. § 19, *Obs.* 5.

§ 15. **mollirent . . . darent** : for *mollite—date.* L. S. 310 ; S. G. § 470.

usuras : sc. *eas esse.*

adnisurus sit : vivid for the regular historic sequence (*esset*), as also *functus sit.*

suam vicem : adverbial accusative. L. S. § 135, NOTE 2 ; S. G. § 254.

expleat : "fill the want they felt." *Desiderium* means regret for what one once had, or the want of that which one ought to have.

Ch. 10. § 1. **raptis** : dative of reference. The use of this dative in lieu of the genitive (*raptarum*) is especially frequent in Livy. Cp. v. 6, *Numitori.*

domi : L. S. § 122, NOTE 3 ; S. G. § 258. **indignationes** : Ciceronian

prose is very sparing of the use of the plural of abstract nouns, while it is common in Livy.

eo: we should have expected *ad eum;* but cp. *eo* in ix. 10, note, and *unde* (= *a quibus*), viii. 3.

§ 2. **ipsi**: "on their own account."

§ 3. **nomen Caeninum**: "the tribe of the Caeninenses," *i.e.* "all who bore the name of Caeninenses." Cp. *Nomen Latinum.*

§ 4. **vastantibus**: sc. *eis.* A dative always follows *obviam ire*, *obvius esse*, *fieri*, *venire*, etc.

exercitu victore: "his victorious army." This use of substantives in apposition, instead of adjectives, is more frequent in Livy than in Cicero or Caesar, and still more frequent in Tacitus (*e.g. imperator populus*, the imperial people).

§ 5. **cum factis**: see viii. 2, note.

finis: cp. *sollemnis*, ix. 6.

cognomen: "title," *i.e.* that of Feretrius (from *fero*), "the Spoil bearer."

sedem: appositive to *templum.*

§ 7. **haec**: observe the attraction of the pronoun, which refers to the whole previous sentence, from the neuter gender to that of the predicative noun. Cp. Virgil, "*superas evadere ad auras, hoc opus,* hic *labor est.*"

Romae: L. S. § 122; S. G. § 257.

visum: "seemed good," a common usage, imitated from the Greek.

compotum: "should not be vulgarized by the numbers of those able to command such an offering." For the genitive (*doni*) see L. S. § 40; S. G. § 276, 2.

bina: the distributive is used in lieu of the ordinal number, because *spolia* is not used in this sense in the singular. L. S. § 187; S. G. § 70, note. The remaining two occasions on which the *spolia opima* were acquired were in 426 B.C., by Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius, King of Veii, and in 222 B.C., when Marcellus slew Viridomarus, a Gaulish king.

Ch. 11. § 1. **per occasionem et solitudinem**: lit. "through the opportunity and loneliness," *i.e.* seizing their opportunity while the country was unguarded." Livy often uses the accusative with *per* in a similarly adverbial sense. Cp. v. 2, *per lusum ac lasciviam.*

oppressit: "overtook."

§ 2. **ovantem**: in later times an ovation signified a minor triumph, in which the victorious general entered the city on foot, clad in the *praetexta*, and sacrificed a sheep (*ovis*, whence the name *ovatio*) in the Capitol. The word here simply = "exulting."

impetratum: sc. *id quod orabat.*

§ 3. **profectus**: sc. *Romulus.*

certaminis: dependent on *minus.* L. S. § 141, NOTE 2; S. G. § 271.

§ 4. **in Crustuminum**: sc. *agrum.* The territory of a conquered town, if the latter became a *Colonia*, was allotted amongst the *Coloni.*

nomina darent: "give in their names," as colonists.

§ 5. **novissimum**: the "most recent" in order of time, *i.e.* "last." Cp. *novissimum agmen*, the rear-guard. *Novus* has no comparative, *recentior* being used instead.

per iram aut cupiditatem: adverbial. See § 1, note.

§ 6. **petitum**: supine expressing purpose, as usual with a verb of motion (*ierat*). L. S. § 97; S. G. § 543. Cp. xv. 5.

§ 8. **additur fabulae**: "there is added to the story the fact that because," etc. Another reading is *fabula*, nominative. *Fabula* is any story, whether true or false.

habuerint: vivid perfect for pluperfect.

pepigisse eam: this clause expresses what was added, and is therefore the subject to *additur*. Translate—"that she bargained for that which they wore," etc.

eo: "therefore." The shield was always worn on the left arm.

§ 9. **dicant**: for the mood see L. S. § 283, NOTE; S. G. § 482, and *Obs.* **ex pacto**: "that, according to their promise of giving her what," etc., . . . "she at once demanded their shields" (*arma*, as in xxv. 4).

fraude: because, if they surrendered their shields, they would advance defenceless to the attack.

Ch. 12. § 1. **campi**: with *quod*. L. S. § 141; S. G. § 270. The narrow valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills was afterwards occupied by the Forum (cp. § 8).

aequum: sc. *locum*.

in adversum: substantive. So in the phrase *ex adverso*.

§ 2. **ab Sabinis, . . . ab Romanis**: the preposition here means "on the side of."

rem: "the Roman cause." *Res* must always be translated in accordance with the context. It has no fixed meaning except in a few special phrases, *e.g. res familiaris*, "property;" *res prosperae* (*adversae*), "good (bad) luck."

ad prima signa: "in the front." In the Roman army of later days the standards (*signa*) were carried in the rear rank of the first line or brigade, of which there were three (*Principes*, *Hastati*, *Triarii*).

§ 3. **fusa ad**: "routed and driven back to." The phrase would naturally mean "routed near," but the context shows that the preposition is here used *pregnantly*, *i.e.* to do duty for an additional verb (*pulsa est*).

§ 4. **avibus**: *i.e.* the vultures of ch. 8. It was from the use of birds in augury that *avis* and *ales* came to signify an "omen," and so the word might be translated here.

superata: "overcome," *i.e.* "traversed."

§ 5. **arce**: imperative of *arceo*. **Romanis**: dative. L. S. § 42; S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

§ 6. **statori**: "to you as the Stayer of Flight."

sit: after *quod* final. L. S. § 278; S. G. § 478.

servatam esse: the accusative and infinitive depend on *monumentum sit*, which = *ostendat*.

§ 7. **primores** : "the front ranks," the *principes* of later times. See § 2, *n.*

§ 8. **princeps** : "first." Direct secondary predicate.

toto, etc. : "from the whole space which the Forum contains." In full the Latin would be *toto spatio tanto* (L. S. § 52 ; S. G. § 306) *quantum spatium est foro* (dative, L. S. § 143, NOTE 1 ; S. G. § 296).

§ 9. **aliud, . . . aliud** : "one thing, . . . another thing."

haec : cognate accusative. L. S. § 33 ; S. G. § 235.

eo : "therefore." Cp. xi. 8.

alia : here, as often in Livy, equal to *cetera*, "the rest."

§ 10. **strepitu** : causal ablative, explaining *trepidante*. So *favore multorum* qualifies *addito animo*, "gaining courage from the support of many."

Ch. 13. § 1. **quarum** : objective genitive ; "owing to the wrong done to whom.'"

passis : from *pando*, "dishevelled." The collocation of so many ablatives is extraordinary. *Crinibus . . . veste* are ablatives of quality (L. S. § 133 ; S. G. § 319) ; *victo muliebri pavore* is ablative absolute ; *malis* is ablative of the instrument, qualifying *victo*.

§ 2. **hinc, . . . hinc** : "on this side, . . . on that side."

parricidio : The word signifies the murder of any near relative. By a further extension of meaning it comes to denote any outrageous crime, *e.g.* "murder of a free citizen," "treason towards one's native land." A murderer was held to be tainted, and the pollution descended to his children. Thus the Sabines, in fighting with their Roman sons-in-law, ran the risk of bringing pollution upon the children of those sons-in-law (their grandchildren), no less than the latter risked polluting their children's lives. **liberum** : cp. ix. 14.

§ 3. **alteris** : "one or other." **vestrum** : this is the regular form of the genitive of the 2nd pers. pronoun (plur.), as *nostrum* of that of the 1st pers., used subjectively or partitively. The objective form is invariably *vestri*, *nostri*.

§ 4. **Romam** : L. S. § 113 ; S. G. § 259.

§ 5. **equom** : accusative singular. S. G. § 19, *Obs.* 1. Some editions read *equos* (nominative ; see S. G. *l.c.*) *Curtium*. The nom. and accus. take *-os*, *-om*, for *-us*, *-um*, when following *u* or *v*.

§ 6. **curias** : "wardships." The three tribes of Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres are said to have contained each 10 *curiae*. Each *curia* contained 10 *gentes*, each *gens* 10 families. The total was thus 30 *curiae*, 300 *gentes*, 3,000 families. It is, of course, absurd that any such numbers could have remained unaltered, though the story of there being three tribes is perhaps authentic.

§ 7. **aliquanto** : "*much* larger." Cp. vii. 9, note on *aliquantum*. **maior hoc** : sc. *numero*.

fuerit . . . lectae sint : primary sequence after *traditur*. The mood of *lectae sint* is that of an indirect question. L. S. § 227, 214 ; S. G. § 433. The question contains three alternatives—whether they were chosen (1) by age, (2) by their own or their husbands' rank, (3) by

lot. To all of these refers *id*, which must be translated "the fact," or "the question whether," etc.

§ 8. **centuriae**: "bodies of 100." These 300 *equites* were the origin of the *Ordo Equestris*, *i.e.* Roman citizens of a rank midway between the Senate and the plebs. The real derivation of all three names is quite unascertainable.

Ch. 14. § 1. **Laurentium**: the Laurentes were the inhabitants of the *Ager Laurentinus*, the territory of Lavinium.

agerent: "took proceedings." *Agere* is a technical word for instituting and conducting an action at law.

gratia: in the singular this word usually = "influence." It rarely = "thanks," a meaning which properly belongs to the plural, *gratiae*.

poterant: "were of more avail." *Possum* is frequently used as an intransitive verb.

§ 2. **Lavini**: L. S. § 122; S. G. § 257.

§ 3. **caesum**: sc. *esse Tatium*. **inuria**: adverbial ablative, "wrongly."

legatorum: objective genitive, "the wrongs done *to* the ambassadors." The subjective and objective genitives must generally be distinguished by the context only. If *legatorum* were subjective the words would mean "wrongs done *by* the ambassadors."

§ 4. **vicinas prope**: this adjective usually takes a simple dative (*sibi*).

esset: *antequam* and *priusquam* take the indicative when mere *order in time* is expressed. With the subjunctive there is contained a notion of purpose—the effort to get something done before an event can happen. Translate—"Before there *could be* as much power," etc. The subjunctive in such cases is *final*. L. S. § 291.

occupant: this verb rarely means to "occupy" (*obtinere*). It signifies to "anticipate" or "forestall" another person, "to be the first to do."

agri: partitive genitive, dependent on the suppressed antecedent (*id*) of *quod*. L. S. § 141; S. G. § 270.

laevam: sc. *manum*, as with *dextra* is understood *manu*.

pro nuntio: "served in lieu of a courier."

§ 6. **a Fidenis**: in contradiction to the general rule of L. S. § 117, S. G. § 261, the preposition is always added in expressions of mere *measured distance*, which do not involve the notion of *motion from*.

mille: here a substantive, followed by the genitive. It is more often an adjective, and *mille passibus* (abl. of point reached) might be substituted in this passage.

§ 7. **omnibus copiis**: *cum* would be added usually. L. S. § 149; S. G. § 312. *Obs.*

locis circa: "in hidden spots amongst the dense overgrowing brushwood." The reading is uncertain, as both *circa* ("here and there amongst") and *obsita* ("overgrown") are used in unusual senses. Other readings are—(1) *densa inter virgulta*, when *circa*

becomes an adverb = "all about;" (2) *densis obsitis virgultis*, "spots overgrown with thick brushwood."

id quod quaerebat: these words refer to *hortem excivit*, etc.

prope: adverb. *Ipsis locis* is dative.

§ 8. **pedes**: singular for plural, a very common usage with *pedes*, *eques*, *miles*. So *Romanus*, § 11, below.

§ 9. **transversam invadunt**: "they attack the line when crosswise," *i.e.* "take it in the flank."

mota signa: "the moving of the standards." See iii. 4, note. *signa movere* = "to advance."

quique: = *et* (*ei*) *qui*.

circumagerent: final subjunctive. See § 4, note on *esset*, and cp. *obicerentur*, § 11, below.

§ 10. **quippe vera**: an abbreviation for *quippe qui vera fuga fugerent*. L. S. § 274; S. G. § 477. **simulantes**: sc. *Romanos*, object of *secuti*.

§ 11. **fores portarum**: "the doors of the gateways." The usual distinction between *foris* and *porta* is that the former means the *door* of a house, the latter the *gate* of a town.

Ch. 15. § 1. **Fidenatis**: genitive of the adjective Fidenas, "belonging to Fidenae."

si . . . essent: the apodosis to this clause is suppressed, being virtually contained in the word *propinquitas* (= *nimis propinqua essent*). L. S. § 259.

populabundi: S. G. 128, 6. **iusti**: cp. iv. 4, note.

Veios: L. S. § 113; S. G. § 259.

§ 2. **ultimae**: "final." The dative is that of advantage.

§ 3. **ponere**: "was already pitching a camp, and was going to advance."

de tectis: "*from* their dwellings."

§ 4. **tantum**: adverb, "solely," "simply."

§ 5. **adversa pugna**: "defeat."

petitum: cp. xi. 6. **oratores**: in its original sense of "pleaders," *i.e.* ambassadors.

multatis: (sc. *eis*) is dative of the recipient. **in centum annos**: "*for* a hundred years." This is the regular form for expressing an appointment or arrangement for the future. Cp. xxii. 5, *in diem tricesimum bellum indixerant*, "at thirty days' date." **indutiae**: from *indu* (archaic form of *in*) and *ire*, *itum*, denotes *a going into rest*, hence "truce."

§ 6. **belli militiaeque**: L. S. § 122, NOTE 3; S. G. § 258.

fidei: with a dependent objective genitive or dative, this word means "confidence in."

§ 7. **prŏfecto**: adverb, "forthwith." Distinguish from *prŏfecto* (*prŏficiscor*) and *prōfecto* (*prōficio*).

§ 8. **celeres**: probably this was the old name of the cavalry (xiii. 8), and Livy is wrong in thinking them different.

Ch. 16. § 1. **campo**: *i.e.* the Campus Martius, the plain to the

north of the Seven Hills, between them and the Tiber, used as a public recreation-ground during the whole of the Republican times. What the Goat's Pool was is quite unknown.

contioni : L. S. § 42 ; S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2. **abstulerit** : for *auferret*. Cp. note on *ausi sunt*, ch. iii. § 4.

§ 2. **vacuam** : predicative; and so *sublimem*. **ex** : "after." Cp. the use of *ab*, i. 5.

obtinuit : neuter, "prevailed."

§ 3. **salvere iubent** : "hail."

pacem : "good-will." The following clause is final.

volens propitius : there is an ellipse of *et* between these two secondary predicates (*Asyndeton*). Cp. *optimus maximus*, ch. xii. § 7.

sospitet : "preserve," a word belonging to the formulas of the old religion.

§ 5. **addita** : sc. *esse*.

gravis : "a weighty authority for any fact, however great."

§ 6. **coelo** : the addition of *ab* would be more usual. L. S. § 116 ; S. G. § 306.

venerabundus : cp. xv. 1, *populabundi*. **contra** : "face to face."

§ 7. **colant** : this and the two following subjunctives are all jussive.

proinde : "therefore," frequent in expressions of advice and exhortation.

§ 8. **sublimis** : predicative, as in § 2.

quamque : "and how."

Ch. 17. § 1. **regni** : objective genitive, "a struggle for the kingship."

a singulis : sc. *certabatur*, on which see i. 1, not one *saevitum est*, and cp. *regnatum erat*, § 2.

ordines : "classes," *i.e.* the true Romans on the one hand, and the Sabines (Tities) on the other.

§ 2. **ab sua parte** : "on their side." Cp. xii. 2, *ab Sabinis*.

§ 3. **regnari** : impersonal, "wished that there should be a king" (not "wished to be ruled by a king").

§ 4. **circa** : adverbial. Both *civitatem* and *exercitum* are direct objects after *adoriretur*. Notice *civitatium*, gen. pl. So *aetatium*. S. G. § 36, 2.

inducebat : "could bring it into his heart to give way to another."

§ 5. **decuriae** : "divisions." *Decuria* originally meant a body of ten men, but came to be used for any division.

singulis in singulas : "by the appointment of one man for each division." For the use of the distributive numerals see L. S. § 186 ; S. G. § 70.

insignibus : a noun, as in xx. 4.

§ 6. **quinum** : = *quinorum*. S. G. § 70.

in orbem : "in rotation."

§ 7. **fremere** : historic infinitive. L. S. § 103 ; S. G. § 517. Such infinitives may generally be rendered by "*began to* grumble," etc.

Fremere here takes accusative and infinitive, being equal to "said discontentedly that."

nec ultra: "nor did they seem likely to put up any longer (*ultra*, adverb) with any one but a king, and what is more, a king chosen by themselves."

§ 8. **ultro**: cp. v. 3, "Of their own free will."

iuris: L. S. § 141; S. G. § 270.

§ 9. **iussissent**: "*iubere regem*" is the technical term for "naming a king." Cp. xxii. 1.

auctores fierent: "the matter should be ratified (become law) on condition that the Senate gave its sanction." *Auctor fieri* is to become a supporter or advocate of a thing, and by the Roman constitution no motion which was carried in the *Comitia Centuriata* (for which see below, ch. 43) became law until it had been approved also by the patrician members of the Senate, who thus acted like the House of Lords in the English Parliament. The sanction of the Senate was termed *auctoritas patrum*. It lasted right through the republic. (N.B. The procedure in the *Comitia Tributa*, or plebeian assembly proper, was at first dependent on the Senatorial sanction, but its powers grew up at a later time, and were finally publicly recognized by the *Lex Hortensia* of 287 B.C., when its decrees became law even without the sanction of the Senate.)

rogandis: "proposing." This meaning arose from the phrase "*rogare populum*," to "ask the people" whether they would have such and such a measure carried. Hence *rogatio* = a motion or proposal.

vi adempta: "its value lost," *i.e.* it had become a mere form, as Livy goes on to explain in the next clause.

suffragium ineat: "commence the ballot." **in incertum**: "even for an election-result that is dubious." The *auctoritas* had come to be so far a mere form that it was passed beforehand, while the result of the voting was still unknown.

§ 10. **quod**: referring to the sentence *regem create*. **sit**: L. S. § 208; S. G. § 444.

visum est: cp. x. 7, note.

qui . . . numeretur: L. S. § 285; S. G. § 480. **creantis**: (= *creaveritis*), future perfect indic., the regular tense of the protasis of a hypothetical sentence referring to future time, when the action of the protasis is anterior to that of the apodosis. The English idiom, which uses the simple future in both parts of the sentence, is less logical than the Latin.

victi: "surpassed."

qui . . . regnaret: consecutive after relative with indefinite antecedent. If it were an indirect question ("choose who should reign at Rome"), we should have *quis* instead of *qui*.

Ch. 18. § 1. **Curibus**: L. S. § 122; S. G. § 257.

ut quisquam: "as far as any one at all could be." *Quisquam* is usually confined to negative or quasi-negative sentences, or follows

comparatives. In affirmative sentences, as here, it can only be used to imply that only the very rarest individuals occurred. In § 3, below, the question renders the sentence quasi-negative, = "no one would have been roused by any intercourse of language."

iuris: L. S. § 40; S. G. § 276, 2.

§ 2. **centum amplius**: in the full and correct form the sentence would run, *amplius quam centum annis post* (adverb). The omission of *quam* is idiomatic with numerals after *plus*, *amplius*, *minus*. The accusative *annos* is due to the adverb *post*, which became misplaced so as to precede *annis*, and was then taken as a preposition, to accord with which *annis* was altered to *annos*.

§ 3. **eiusdem aetatis**: "of the same date." **fuisset**: L. S. § 261; S. G. §§ 427, 503. The apodosis is *quae fama (pervenisset)?* Some editions have *qua* for *quae*. "By what report did P. reach the Sabines?"

quemquam: see above, § 1, note.

§ 4. **suopte**: S. G. § 79, *Obs.* 2.

virtutibus: dependent on *temperatum*, "that his mind was regulated by virtue."

§ 5. **inde**: cp. *unde*, viii. 3.

quisquam: sc. *ausus est*.

ad unum: "to a man."

§ 6. **augurato**: a participle standing alone in ablative absolute. So *auspicato*, "after consulting the auspices;" *compecto* (*compaciscor*), "by arrangement;" and with adjectives, *sereno*, "in fine weather." Translate—"with due auguries." *Urbe condenda*, an ablative of date, like *morte*, xxii. 1.

honoris ergo: "by way of compliment." This use of *ergo* as a preposition is archaic and unusual.

deductus: "escorted," the regular word. It does not necessarily mean to "lead *down*."

§ 7. **ab oriente ad occasum**: the words *sole*, *solis* must be understood with the participle and the noun respectively. The augur, seated on the left of Numa, faced the east. He then marked out (*determinavit*) an imaginary line from the eastern horizon to his own position, and a second line intersecting this at right angles. He thus had four districts (*regiones*), those to the north of the first line being on his left, those to the south on his right. He then determined in his mind upon a sign which was to appear "opposite to him, at the utmost extent of his eyesight" (*contra*, *quoad*, etc.). After a prayer, he stated aloud what he wished the sign to be, and on its appearance declared that the gods approved of Numa as King of Rome.

§ 9. **uti**: for the commoner form *utinam*.

adclarassis: 2nd sing. of an aorist (*i.e.* past) tense of the subjunctive, consisting of *adclara-*, the stem of the verb *adclarare*, + *-s(i)s-*, the tense ending (whence the form is called a *sis* aorist), + *-is*, the personal ending (cp. *sis*, the 2nd sing. pres. subj. of *esse*).

templo: "sacred place." Cp. vi. 4.

Ch. 19. § 1. **eam** : redundant, *i.e.* as *urbem novam* is the grammatical object of *condere*, the insertion of *eam* is needless.

§ 2. **quippe efferari** : "since (he thought that) men's tempers were ensavaged by warfare." The construction is orat. obliqua, the governing verb being understood from *videret*. Other readings are *efferos* (sc. *esse*) ; *efferatis animis ; efferatos* (sc. *esse*) *animos*

Ianum : "a temple of Janus, at the foot of the Argiletum." The name of this god was commonly used for the fuller form *Templum Iani*, especially when, in later times, most of the money-changing business centred about the three *arcus Iani*. Hence *Arcus Iani*, or *Ianus*, = a bank. The *Argiletum* was a slope to the north-east of the Forum, said to have been the scene of the death of Argus, the son of an augur, who was killed for disclosing some mysteries (*Argi letum*). The name probably really means "the clayey ground," from *argilla*, white clay.

§ 3. **clausus fuit** : "has been *for some time* closed ; " not the same as *clausus est*, "has been closed (whether for a shorter or longer time)." The former denotes a state, the latter an act, in the past.

T. Manlio consule : L. S. § 83 ; S. G. § 334. He was consul in 235 B.C., six years after the first Punic war (264-241 B.C.).

bellum Actiacum : the "war of Actium" was so called from the battle of Actium, which ended it, 31 B.C., when Octavius, afterwards known as Augustus, the first Emperor of Rome, finally defeated Antonius assisted by Cleopatra. Actium is at the mouth of the Gulf of Ambracia, on the Promontory of Leucas, south of Corcyra, on the west coast of Central Greece. Augustus closed the Temple of Janus on his return to Rome, 29 B.C. **quod nostrae** : the relative refers to the clause *clausus fuit iterum post bellum*, etc.

§ 4. **rem,** etc. : in apposition with the words *deorum metum inicere*.

§ 5. **commento** : perf. part. of *comminiscor* used substantivally. Upon it depends *miraculi* "without some fiction of a miracle."

essent : after quae in a consecutive sense—"such as were." L. S. § 283 ; S. G. § 479.

§ 6. **ad cursus** : "according to the courses of the moon." The year was divided into twelve lunar months. But a lunar year contains roughly only $12 \times 29\frac{1}{2}$, or 354 days ; so that in a very little while the calendar date and the real (solar) date would be very widely different. Numa therefore inserted an intercalary month, in such a manner that the close of twenty lunar years should coincide with that of twenty solar years, and every twenty-first year commence at the true moment. [The calendar remained unaltered until Julius Cæsar, in 45 B.C., reformed it as we now have it. By that time the error which remained in Numa's system—the *true* lunar month being a fraction more than $29\frac{1}{2}$ days—aided by various other causes, had accumulated to some months.]

ad metam congruerent : "coincided with that starting-point of the sun from which they had begun, while every year had its full course." The *meta* is properly the turning-post in a race-course, or the goal. It was also used, as here, for the starting-post (*carceres*).

orsi essent: subjunctive by attraction to the mood of the superior verb *congruerent*.

§ 7. **nefastos**: a *dies nefastus* was one on which no business could be done with the people in the assemblies for election, etc., and also those on which the praetor, or judge, did not sit in court. All other days were *fasti*. **agi**: see on xiv. 1.

Ch. 20. § 1. **Dialem flaminem**: the *flamen Dialis* ("of Jupiter") was the highest of the special priests in dignity. He was never allowed to leave Rome, even for a day, and his office was perpetual. His costume was the *toga praetexta* and a white head-dress.

§ 2. **regiae vicis**: "of the kingly office."

§ 3. **Quirino**: the name of the deified Romulus. Like *Quirites* ("spear-men"), it is connected with *quiris*, a lance, and was perhaps originally a title of Mars.

Virgines Vestae: see on iii. § 11.

stipendium: "payment." The word originally meant (1) a soldier's pay. Hence it came to mean (2) the campaign in which he earned it, and (3) any tax or payment. **de publico**: "out of the public lands," sc. *agro*. They were maintained by the revenues from an estate set apart for the purpose.

§ 4. **Salios** (from *salire*, "the leapers"): these priests took their name from their ritual dances. *Gradivus* = "marching," the god of Advance in War.

ancilia: legend said that a shield fell from heaven, and to prevent its loss by theft there were made eleven others exactly like it, and the whole were guarded in the Temple of Mars Gradivus. In shape they were oval, deeply indented at each side.

tripudiis: though derived by Cicero from *terripavium*, is probably from *ter* and *pes*, "a solemn religious dance, in triple time."

§ 5. **pontificem**: the pontiffs, originally five, afterwards increased to fifteen or more, formed a sacred college, whose duty it was to keep the *fasti*, or calendar, and to regulate all the religious matters of the State. They were under the control of one of their number, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had also charge of the conduct of the Vestal Virgins. This is the person meant here.

quibus hostiis, etc.: these three indirect questions would in direct form be *quibus fiant hostiis*, etc. (deliberative subjunctive. L. S. § 311, *n.*; S. G. § 440).

§ 6. **scitis**: "decisions." The word is technically used of the popular assembly (*Comitia Tributa*), as opposed to the *consulta* of the Senate and the *leges* of Senate and populace (in the *Comitia Centuriata*) combined.

consultum: supine, expressing purpose. L. S. 97; S. G. § 543.

§ 7. **nec coelestes**: = *et ut non modo coelestes*, etc.

susciperentur: "recognized" The metaphor is from the action of a Roman father, who, on the birth of a child, *took it up* or not, according as he intended to rear it or to have it destroyed. The ordinary

word for "attending to" sacred matters is *procuro*, not the uncompounded verb. Cp. xxi. 1.

auguriis : see vi. 4, note on *templa*. The Augurs formed the second Sacred College, and were originally three, one from each of the Romulean tribes. Later there were as many as sixteen. Their duty was to decide whether the gods favoured any undertaking or no, whether public or private. They derived most of their methods from the Etruscans.

Ch. 21. § 1. **occupati** : here in the less common sense of "busied" (xiv. 4).

ea . . . ut : "such . . . that," a common substitute for *talis ut*. So *is . . . qui :* cp. below, § 2, *eam . . . ut*.

proximo : "with a fear next to that of the laws and their penalties." In full the sentence would be *metu proximo metum legum*. *Proximus* with an accusative occurs, though not in Cicero.

§ 2. **tum** : "thereupon."

ducerent nefas : "deemed it a sin that the State," etc.

§ 3. **quod essent** : "because there (he said) were," etc. The mood is due to virtual oratio obliqua. Hence the distinction between *quod*, *quia*, etc., with subjunctive and indicative, the former being the *alleged* cause, the second the *real* one.

§ 5. **Argeos** : a number of small chapels, at one time the central points of various rural communities in and near the Seven Hills of Rome.

§ 6. **deinceps** : "one after the other." **ille. . . . hic** : "the former, . . . the latter." Cp. xiii. 2. **alius . . . alia** : for *alter . . . altera*. So xxv. 5.

Ch. 22. § 1. **pugna** : see ch. xii.

populus iussit, etc. : cp. xvii. 9.

§ 2. **proximo** : Roby sums up the prose constructions of *similis* and *dissimilis* as follows : "When the object is a god, man, or beast, Cicero and his age, with comparatively few exceptions, use the genitive ; when the object is a thing, the genitive and dative indiscriminately. Livy and later writers use the dative quite as often of both. The personal pronoun is always in the genitive."

ferocior : "more warlike."

senescere : "growing weak as an old man."

§ 4. **Albae** : L. S. 43 ; S. G. § 291, 16.

sub : with the accusative this preposition frequently means "close to," "just about." Cp. *sub galli cantum*, about cock-crow.

ne quid : *i.e.* to lose no time in coming to business.

pie : "with a fair excuse," "dutifully." *Pietas* signifies (1) the duty of children to parents ; (2) that of men to the gods. The infinitives depend on some such verb as *putabat*, understood from *sciebat*.

§ 5. **in tricesimum** : cp. on xv. 5.

§ 6. **purgando** : "in excusing themselves," "pleading in excuse

that." The idea of saying in the gerund governs the following orat. obliqua.

repetitum: L. S. § 97; S. G. § 543. *Res repetere*, technical word for to "sue for damages;" *res repetundae* = "extortion." *Aliquem rerum repetundarum arguere*, to accuse any one of extortion (lit. "of property that must be recovered"). The whole speech would, in oratio recta, be "*Nos inviti quicquam, quod minus placeat Tullo, dicemus, sed imperio subigimur. Res repetitum venimus. Ni reddentur bellum indicere iussi sumus.*"

§ 7. **dimiserit**: indirect question dependent on *testes facere* (= calls the gods to witness).

expetant: the subject is *di.* "That upon that people the gods may visit," etc. Cp. xxiii. 4. It is possible that *expetant* is intransitive; *omnes clades* will then be subject—"that all the disasters of this war may fall upon that people."

Ch. 23. § 1. **nuntiant domum**: "carry this message home." L. S. § 113; S. G. § 260. Another example of pregnant construction for the ordinary expression *haec responsa domum reportant nuntiantque.* Cp. xii. 3.

§ 2. **nec, . . . et**: "there was no pitched battle, and also" (*nec* = *et non*).

§ 3. **plus quinque**: for the omission of *quam*, cp. xviii. 2, and note.

circumdant: this verb admits of two constructions—(1) *urbem fossa circumdare;* (2) *urbi fossam circumdare.*

§ 4. **dictatorem**: "leader." After the expulsion of the kings, the name dictator was reserved in Rome for a sole general, elected in times of great emergency, to supersede both the consuls. It was in reality a return to the monarchy, the only difference being that the dictator could legally only hold office for six months. Like the king, he possessed absolute power both within and without the walls, and he was assisted by a Master of the Horse (*Magister Equitum*).

ferox morte: cp. vii. 5, *ferox viribus.*

capite: *i.e.* "king." **expetiturum**: see xxii. 7, note. In this passage *expeto* is transitive.

praeteritis: notice this verb used transitively, and so admitting a past participle. Cp. *circumveniri*, xxviii. 5, and the use of *adire, inire.*

§ 5. **stativis**: sc. *castris.*

ducit: sc. *copias.* So with *educit*, § 6.

dimicent: subjunctive, because it is part of Tullus' orders, and therefore of the envoy's speech. So the following subjunctives in this section.

§ 6. **si vana adferantur**: "in case idle terms should be brought to him," *i.e.* "in case the matter were a ruse." The apodosis is suppressed as in xv. 1, where see note.

§ 7. **iniurias**: this and the next accusative depend upon *dicentem*, which must be supplied with *regem*. The latter word is direct object of *audisse.*

prae te ferre : "keep before you" as an excuse, "allege."

dictu : L. S. 99 ; S. G. § 544.

§ 8. **recte an perperam** : sc. *stimulet ;* double indirect question. L. S. § 225, 227 ; S. G. § 436.

fuerit : the so-called concessive future perfect. "Let that question be his who undertook the war." L. S. § 205.

gerendo bello : dat. of the work contemplated.

monitum : sc. *esse.* The usual construction with *volo*, as with all verbs of wishing, is *ut* and subjunctive. *Velim* is the polite subjunctive. L. S. § 210, NOTE ; S. G. § 430.

quo propior : "in proportion as you are nearer." The proper correlative of *quo* is *eo magis*, for which *maxime* is here substituted.

multum . . . plurimum : adverbial accusatives. L. S. § 136 ; S. G. § 254.

§ 9. **spectaculo** : dative of result (predicative dative). L. S. § 144 ; S. G. § 297. The *ut* clause which follows is consecutive.

si nos di amant : this phrase means no more than the old English "So help me God!" and came to be used, in the same way, as an interjection.

imperent : indirect question dependent upon *decerni*. *Uter* and similar words (e.g. *unus*, *alter*, etc.) are used in the plural only when referring to *parties*. Cp. the use of *alteris* in xiii. 3. L. S. §§ 175, 181, NOTES.

§ 10. **initur** : see on *praeteritis*, § 4, above. **quaerentibus** : dative of the agent, governed by *initur*. This construction is more frequently found in prose with the perfect tenses passive, than as here with the present.

Ch. 24. § 1. **duobus** : we should have expected *utroque exercitu*, as *duo* correctly means "the two together." *Trigemini*, "triplets."

antiqua : "old in time," whereas *vetus* = old in years, and *vetustus* and *priscus* = old-fashioned.

nobilior : "better known." **error** : "doubt," or "problem."

utroque trahunt : "draw (us) both ways," *i.e.* are divided in opinion.

vocent : compare the (consecutive) subj. after *reperiuntur qui.* L. S. § 283, *n.* ; S. G. § 482.

§ 2. **quisque** : this word is commonly thus constructed in the singular appositive to the real subject of a plural verb, and invariably so when joined to *suus.*

ibi . . . unde : "on that side . . . on which . . . ;" adverbs in lieu of the relative and prepositions (*penes eos . . . a quibus*). The clause is in orat. obliqua, depending on the notion *declarandi* in *agunt.*

convenit : "is suitable," intransitive.

§ 3. **dimicarent** : see on *esset*, xiv. 4. The subjunctive is used, although the notion of *purpose* is so faint as to be hardly discernible. Sometimes in Livy there is absolutely no accessory idea of purpose, *e.g. Paucis ante diebus, quam Syracusae caperentur, Otacilius in Africam transmisit* (xxv. 3).

his legibus : "on these conditions." The terms were, in oratio

recta, *is populus, cuius cives hoc certamine vicerint* (fut. perf.), *alteri populo cum bona pace imperitato.*

§ 4. **vetustior**: by hypallage for *vetustioris*. We should say "no record of any older treaty."

fetialis: there was at Rome a college of twenty *fetiales*, whose duties were concerned solely with the proper ratification of all treaties and declarations of war. Deputations from their number were present on all such occasions, under the head of one of their number, who was elected president for the occasion, and styled *Pater Patratus* (lit. "he who is made father"). They carried with them certain herbs, gathered on the Capitoline Hill (*verbenae*, or *sagmina*), and their persons were sacred by the *ius gentium* (international law).

patre patrato: "the chief herald of the Alban people."

puram: sc. *herbam*, as in next line. **tollito**: the forms of the future imperative are almost exclusively confined to archaic forms of law and ritual.

§ 5. **vasa**: "properties," *i.e.* the *sagmina*, and the flint-stone knife of § 9.

§ 6. **fit**: the word is out of place, belonging to *pater patratus*, its complement. The real subject is Sp. Fusius.

effata: passive, although from a deponent verb. *Carmen* is any religious formula, whether in verse or not.

operae: L. S. § 144; S. G. § 297. Lit. "is not for a task," *i.e.* "is not worth the trouble."

§ 7. **populus Albanus**: observe the archaic use of the nominative for the vocative.

prima postrema: ellipse of *et*, "from first to last." So in § 8, *consilio* (*et*) *dolo*.

§ 8. **defexit**: the corresponding form in the simple verb is *faxit*, which is made up of *fac-*, the stem of *facere*, + *-s-*, the tense ending (whence the tense is termed an *s* aorist), + *it* (cp. *sit*, the 3rd sing. pres. subj. of *esse*). See note on *adclarassis*, ch. xviii. 9. *Faxit*, when compounded with *de*, changes *a* to *e*, on account of the accent having originally fallen on the prefix (*fáxit*, *défexit*).

Diespiter: an old title of Jupiter, = Father of Light (*dies*, *pater*). The use of *ille* (= "the great") with the second person as here is unusual. It is common with the third person.

Ch. 25. § 1. **convenerat**: impersonal, "as had been arranged."

utrosque: see on xxiii. 9. The following oratio obliqua depends on *adhortarentur* = "say in exhortation."

civium: L. S. § 141; S. G. § 270. *quidquid*, like the preceding accusatives, is subject to *intueri*, to which *arma . . . manus* are objects.

§ 2. **agebatur**: "was being treated of," *i.e.* "was at stake."

§ 3. **terni**: "three from each side."

fecissent: subjunctive after *quam* (= *qualem*). L. S. § 283; S. G. § 479. Cp. xxi. 1, note on *ea*. In direct speech *ea erit . . . quam fecerimus*.

§ 4. **spectantis** : accusative. Cp. *solemnis*, ix. 6. **neutro** : "to neither side."

§ 5. **spectaculo** : dative of result. L. S. § 144 ; S. G. § 297.

§ 6. **vice** : "half-dead by reason of the condition of the one man." There is an easier reading, *vicem* (adverbially), "on behalf of."

§ 7. **integer** : "untouched," the primary meaning of the word.

ut . . . sic : this pair of correlatives may usually be rendered by translating *ut* "while," and omitting *sic* ; or by "though . . . yet."

§ 8. **sequentes . . . abesse** : *videt* here has two constructions : (1) the simple object-accusative ; (2) accusative and infinitive. *Magnis intervallis*, model ablative.

§ 9. **ex insperato** : "after an unexpected event." *Faventes* = *fautores*, the "supporters" of combatants. **solet** : sc. *esse*, which is commonly omitted with this verb.

§ 10. **alter** : the dual word is used because only two of the Curiatii now remained. We should say "the third," and "the second (*alterum*)." **posset** : after *prius quam* final. See xiv. 4, note on *esset*. **nec procul** : *nec* = *non* is an archaism.

§ 11. **Marte** : the name of the god is commonly used for that of which he is the personification. So *Venus* = love, *Vulcanus* = fire, *Iuppiter* = the sky.

§ 12. **fratrum** : sc. *meorum*. Possessive genitive with *Manibus*.

sustinenti : dative of disadvantage.

§ 13. **eo . . . quo** : "in proportion as." This phrase is only used with comparatives in both clauses, so that with *prope* must be supplied *magis*.

dicionis alienae : cp. *tutelae*, vi. 4.

Ch. 26. § 1. **ex foedere** : cp. *ex consilio*, ix. 2.

usurum . . . foret : orat. obliqua after *imperat* = "he said in his orders."

§ 2. **princeps** : predicative, as in xii. 5.

Capena : "the Capuan Gate," near the south-east foot of the Palatine Hill, through which ran the *Via Appia* southward, through Latium and Campania to Capua, the chief town of the latter division of Italy.

paludamentum : in later times this signified the official mantle of the consul as commander of the armies, and which therefore he was not allowed to wear within the city, excepting on the occasion of his first leaving it to assume the command. Nothing military had any place within the walls of Rome, except in such a crisis as required dictatorial powers. See note on xxiv. 9.

§ 4. **inmaturo** : properly "unripe," and so "out of place," "unseasonable."

§ 5. **facinus** : (from *facio*) = any deed, whether good or bad. *Scelus* = a crime. *Flagitium* = a disgraceful offence. *Nefas* = a sin. *Delictum* = a misdemeanor (in law). *Crimen* = a charge.

meritum : "service," "a deed which has merit" (*laus*).

facto obstabat : lit. "stood in the way of the deed," *i.e.* "was a set-off to the crime."

secundum: preposition, "in accordance with the verdict;" so immediately below. *Auctor* may here be rendered "responsible for."

Horatio : dative of reference, "in the case of Horatius."

§ 6. **carminis**: cp. xxiv. 6.

provocarit (*provocaverit*): **provocatio** (appeal) was the technical term for the process by which a condemned person claimed a new hearing before the people in the *Comitia Centuriata* when found guilty by a jury-court. In the time of the monarchy all trials lay with the king and the *quaestores parricidii*, or *perduellionis*, the duumvirs here mentioned, and there could be no appeal except with the king's permission.

certato: this and the following imperatives are all of the 3rd person, *aliquis* being understood as nominative.

arbori: observe the locative, which was long preserved in ancient formulae in other words than those mentioned. Cp. S. G. § 258.

§ 7. **ne . . . quidem** : the negative merely emphasizes the previous *non*, but does not cancel it. L. S. § 298 *n.* See below, § 12, note.

§ 8. **ad populum** : "before the people."

§ 9. **patrio iure**: "by virtue of his rights as a father." By Roman law a father had power of life and death over his children, no matter of what age, until he chose to exempt them by a legal process.

se: referring, of course, to the subject of the principal verb (*orabat*). L. S. § 307 ; S. G. § 362.

§ 10. **Pila Horatia** : the "Horatian Shaft" stood in one of the arcades which surrounded the Forum.

possent : the protasis is suppressed (*si viderent*). L. S. § 257 ; S. G. § 429.

§ 11. **modo . . . modo** : the particles have the force of *dummodo*, and *verberes* must be understood with each. L. S. § 294; S. G. § 498.

vindicent : after *ubi* = *ut ibi*. L. S. § 283 ; S. G. § 479.

§ 12. **non . . . nec . . nec**: notice that "either . . . or," when following a negative, may be expressed by "*nec* . . . *nec*," as though no negative had preceded. Cp. *nullo praemio neque expectato neque sperato*, "*no* reward having been *either* waited for *or* hoped for." Similarly, *se non posse ne innoxium quidem absolvere* "(they thought), they could *not* acquit even a guiltless man." Usually in Latin two negatives cancel each other ; e.g. *nullus non fugit* = every one fled ; *non nullus fugit* = some fled. Cp. above, § 7, first note.

piaculo : "expiation." The word also means the "pollution" which requires expiation.

§ 13. **iugum**: a yoke composed of a spear bound crosswise to two others standing upright, so forming a sort of arch, beneath which the troops of a surrendered army were compelled to march in token of their ignominy. The cross-beam (*tigillum*) stood near the Colosseum, at the east end of the Via Sacra, above the Forum.

§ 14. **publice** : "at the public cost."

saxo quadrato : *i.e.* hewn stones, such as the Etruscans used, unlike the rude, unsquared building of the early Romans.

Ch. 27. § 1. **fuerit** : the mood is due to the fact being viewed as part of the thoughts of the Alban *vulgus* (virtual oblique oration). The more correct sequence would be *fuisset.*

popularium : *populares* are "men of one's own *populus,*" fellow-countrymen. **pravis** : sc. *consiliis.*

§ 2. **ex edicto** : "after formal declaration" (of war). **gerundum** : old form for **gerendum.**

§ 4. **descissent** : = *descivissent.* The syllables *-vi-*, *-si-* may be omitted in any perfect-stem forms. **ducit** : cp. *educit*, xxiii. 6.

confluentis : accusative, "the confluence" (of the Anio and Tiber). The word is an adjective, and *Anienem et Tiberim* must be supplied. The two rivers unite three miles above Rome.

§ 5. **et in acie** : *i.e.* both in the line of battle and in the passage of the river. **in sinistro** : sc. *cornu.*

Albanus : sc. *dictator*, Mettius Fufetius.

§ 6. **rem** : "victory."

§ 7. **miraculo** : dative of result. L. S. § 144 ; S. G. § 297. *Esse* is an historic infinitive. L. S. § 103 ; S. G. § 517.

Salios : *i.e.* the Salii of Quirinus. See on xx. 4.

§ 8. **opus esse . . . invadant** : orat. obliqua, depending on the idea of saying in *iubet.*

iussu : like *iniussu*, this word is found in ablative singular only.

§ 9. **rati** : sc. *verum esse*, "believing."

ut qui essent : L. S. § 274 ; S. G. § 477.

Latine : sc. *loqui.* Such an expression is unusual, the common form being *Latinum sermonem scire.*

§ 10. **Veientem** : singular for plural. Cp. *Romanus*, xiv. 11.

alieno pavore : "the panic of others." This is always the meaning of *alienus.*

§ 11. **caeci** : in English we should use an adverb—"blindly."

Ch. 28. § 1. **gratulatur** : this verb has two constructions—(1) *tibi victoriam gratulor ;* (2) *te de victoria gratulor.*

quod bene vertat : a formula used in praying for success ; "and may it turn to our good." The sequence is irregular, inasmuch as *iubet*, being an historic present, would more regularly take an historic sequence. L. S. § 215, *n.* 1 ; S. G. § 493, *Obs.*

§ 2. **illuxit** : "it *had* dawned." L. S. § 202 ; S. G. § 401.

§ 3. **armata** : predicative, "in arms."

§ 4. **alias** : adverb, "on any other occasion." **fuit, quod** : "there was (reason) that you should thank," etc. Lit. "there was something in respect to which you thanked." *Quod* is here an accusative of limitation (L. S. § 233 ; S. G. § 253), and *ageretis* is a consecutive subjunctive (L. S. § 282 ; S. G. § 479).

§ 5. **iniussu** : cp. *iussu*, xxvii. 8, note.

vobis : dative equivalent to a genitive, "your valour."

§ 6. **voluissem . . . fecissetis** : L. S. § 251 (*b*) ; S. G. § 427. **documentum** : "an example."

§ 7. **bonum faustum**, etc. : by the ordinary rule of Latin three or more co-ordinate words must either (1) all or (2) none have *et* (*-que*, etc.). In this case the words are a religious formula, and *faustum elix* constitute one idea, which is connected by *-que* with the co-ordinate idea in *bonum*. Cp. xvii. 10 ; L. S. § 208 ; and S. G. § 444.

redeat : jussive. L. S. 208 ; S. G. § 444.

§ 9. **posses . . . esset** : L. S. § 251 (*a*); S. G. § 427. **disciplina** : "lesson."

at tu : "still, do thou at least teach." The particle expresses the *possibility* of something contrary to the previous statement.

distrahendum : simple predicative gerundive.

§ 11. **exempli** : genitive of description. L. S. § 134 ; S. G. § 274. We reverse the cases in English, and say, "the example of such a punishment."

Ch. 29. § 2. **tumultus ille** : the demonstrative is attracted to the gender of the complement. Usually it would be *illud*, "what occurred." Cp. x. 7, note on *haec*.

ariete : instrumental ablative, like *vi*. The other ablatives are all absolute.

§ 3. **relinquerent . . . ferrent** : indirect questions depending on *obliti*. In direct form they would be deliberative subjunctives (*quid relinquamus?* etc.). L. S. § 311, *n.*; S. G. § 440. The following subjunctives, *starent . . . pervagarentur*, depend on *ut* consecutive, and the principal verb of the whole sentence is *defixit animos*.

ultimum illud : "for that last occasion." So *tum ipsum*, "on that very occasion."

§ 4. **quibus quisque** : = *iis quae quisque*. The relative is attracted, by a Graecism, from its proper case (object of *poterat efferre*) to that of the (suppressed) antecedent *iis* (sc. *rebus*).

§ 6. **urbem** : *egredi* more usually takes an ablative, with or without *ex*.

quibus : "during which." The ablative is occasionally used by Livy and later writers, in place of the accusative, to denote duration of time. L. S. § 125, NOTE.

templis : dative. The construction is the natural passive (impersonal) of the form *tempero me templis*, "I restrain myself from the temples."

Ch. 30. § 1. **Coelius** : the Coelian Hill lies immediately to the east of the Palatine.

quo : "in order that ;" hence the mood of *habitaretur*. L. S. § 278, *n.* 1 ; S. G. § 453.

§ 2. **legit** : "chose for the Senate." The following proper names are in apposition with *principes*.

§ 5. **Feroniae** : a goddess of flowers, worshipped at Trebula in Samnium, and at Mount Soracte in Etruria. **mercatu** : ablative of place.

§ 6. **Sabini**: sc. *querebantur*, "complained that some of themselves (*suos*) had before that date (*prius*) fled to the grove." *Lucus* is the asylum, viii. 5.

locatam . . . auctam: accusative and infinitive depending on *memores* (= *qui meminerant*).

§ 7. **valuit**: "prevailed," as in § 9.

§ 8. **vertique**: "and the matter seemed to turn on this question, which of the two peoples should first attack." *Inferrent* is like *relinquerent*, xxix. 3.

occupat: see on xiv. 4.

§ 9. **silva Malitiosa**: in the Sabine territory.

constare: "and neither could their fight be maintained nor their flight be developed."

Ch. 31. § 2. **quod**: "in regard to which." L. S. §§ 233, 135; S. G. § 253. It is not to be translated as object of *credi*, which would of course require *cui*. With *missis* must be supplied *nuntiis*, in ablative absolute.

coelo: the omission of *de* is poetical.

§ 3. **deum**: genitive plural. Cp. *liberum*, *quinum*. S. G. § 19, *Obs.* 5. *Fortunae* is object after *obirati* (sc. *Albani*, the subject of the whole sentence).

§ 4. **Romanis**: L. S. § 111; S. G. § 293. **ab eodem**: cp. i. 4, note on *ab simili clade*.

aruspicum: soothsayers who interpreted the will of the gods by consulting the entrails of animals offered in sacrifice. They never formed a *collegium* as the augurs did, and their position was always one of inferiority. Cicero, for instance, was proud of being appointed *augur*, but was highly indignant when an *aruspex* was admitted to the Senate.

nuntiaretur: subjunctive expressing frequency. L. S. § 289, *n.* 2.

§ 5. **oreretur**: *orior*, *potior*, and a few other similar deponents of the fourth conjugation take forms from the third conjugation occasionally.

§ 6. **illi**: dative, equivalent to a genitive. L. S. § 143, NOTE 2.

religionibus: in the plural this word signifies "religious ceremonies;" in the singular it = *superstitiones*.

§ 7. **impetrata esset**: the *apodosis* to this hypothetical clause is expressed in *relictam*, which would be more usually *relictum iri*. (In oratio recta, *nulla relinquetur nisi impetrata erit*.)

§ 8. **operatum**: "busied with these sacrifices." *Operor* is specially used of religious functions, and hence often = to sacrifice. The participle is here used passively.

conflagrasse: sc. *eum*, as object.

gloria: ablative of quality. L. S. § 133; S. G. § 319.

Ch. 32. § 1. **fuere auctores**: cp. xvii. 8 *n.*

filia: ablative. L. S. § 150; S. G. § 310.

§ 2. **proximum regnum**: "the last reign." *Proximus* means "next,"

whether in past or future time, but is more common in the latter usage.

cetera: "in other respects," acc. of limitation. L. S. §135; S. G. § 254.

ab una parte: "in respect of one part *or* point."

antiquissimum: "most preferable," a meaning derived from the value or importance attached to what is "old and time-honoured."

in publico: sc. *loco*. The pontiff's chief duty was to keep the *album pontificium*, in which were entered all facts as to *dies fasti et nefasti*, sacrifices, auguries, etc., which concerned the people at large.

§ 3. **desidem**: secondary predicate, "in sloth."

§ 4. **habiturum**: (sc. *esse*) depends, like *fuisse*, on *credebat*. The indirect construction continues in the next two clauses.

§ 5. **religiones**: cp. on ch. xxxi. 6, note.

instituisset: *quoniam*, as a rule, takes the indicative. When the subjunctive is used, as here, it is due to the fact being viewed as part of another's thoughts. Translate—"since, thought he, Numa," etc.

Aequiculis: the name is purely mythical, and really means "Those who observe what is equitable" (*aequus-colo*).

§ 6. **unde**: = *a quibus*.

cuiuscumque gentis: the genitive is possessive, and the noun *gentis* is attracted into the relative clause and government from its proper position as accus. after *nominat*.

iuste pieque: "with justice in the eyes of men (*juste*) and of the gods (*pie*)." **sit**: L. S. § 208; S. G. § 444.

§ 7. **dedier**: notice this old form of the ending of the pres. infin. pass. It is found in all conjugations. *dedier* = *dedi*. **siris**: = *siveris*. For the gen. *patriae*, see L. S. § 40; S. G. § 276, 2.

§ 8. **haec**: *peragit* must be repeated to govern this word in each instance. The antecedent to *quicumque* is *viro* (dative), which is transferred to the relative clause. Cp. on § 6.

concipiendi iuris iurandi: to be taken as one idea, "the wording of the oath;" and depending, like *carminis*, as a partitive genitive, on *pauca*. For *carminis*, cp. xxvi. 6.

§ 10. **adipiscamur**: L. S. § 227; S. G. § 433.

§ 11. **ferme**: in affirmative sentences this word = "pretty much," "very nearly," in negative sentences = "scarcely."

quarum, etc.: the genitives are analogous to the genitive of the charge, L. S. § 38; S. G. § 280, and the relative belongs alike to each of the three nouns, which are a good example of asyndeton, as are the infins. *dari, fieri, solvi*, below. On *pater patratus*, cp. xxiv.

sententiam: "vote." The technical word for an opinion delivered in the Senate on the question at issue.

§ 12. **duello**: archaic for *bello*, as *duonus* for *bonus*.

ibat: "followed the same vote." The meaning arose from the custom of "dividing" on a question, the "ayes" going (*ire*) to one side, the "noes" to the other. To vote simply by division, without speaking one's *sententia*, was termed in full *pedibus in sententiam ire*.

consensum: notice this passive participle from a usually intransitive verb. Another reading is *consensu*, "by general consent."

minus tribus: for the omission of *quam* see L. S. § 132, *n.* **3**; S. G. § 349.

§ 13. **dixisset**: this subjunctive of indefinite repetition is a mark of silver Latinity, which made its way into the language through the optative being used in similar cases in Greek. Cicero would say *dixerat.* Cp. *nuntiaretur*, xxxi. 4.

Ch. 33. § 2. **eodem**: "to the same place."

§ 3. **eaque causa**: we should have expected *id*, but the attraction of *hic*, is, to the gender of the complement, is very common. The case is similar to that stated. S. G. § 229 (*b*).

§ 4. **postremo**: of course an adverb.

Marte incerto: "indecisive fighting." Cp. on xxv. 11, note. These words are best taken as abl. absolute, while *varia victoria* depends on *pugnatum est* as a model ablative.

signa contulerat: "had joined battle." Cp. *signa movere*, xiv. 9, and note.

§ 5. **ad ultimum**: "at last."

ad Murciae: sc. *aram.* Compare the English ellipse, *St. Paul's.* The altar of Venus Murcia lay in the valley between the Aventine and Palatine Hills.

§ 6. The Janiculan Hill lay on the right bank of the Tiber towards Etruria. It commanded the river, and hence the importance of preventing its seizure at any time by an enemy. Notice the attraction of *ea* to the gender of *arx*, and cp. § 3, note.

non muro solum: *cingi* must be supplied, because a mere wall could not *join* it to the *city* while the river lay between.

Tiberim: the accusative is due to the idea of *carrying* the bridge *across* the river. Some editions read *Tiberi*, ablative. The *Pons Sublicius* (lit. "the trestle bridge") lay just at the western foot of the Capitol, crossing the two branches of the river which surround the *Insula.*

§ 7. **a planioribus**: "on the side of, in the direction of, spots more level of approach."

discrimine, etc.: "the distinction between a thing done rightly or wrongly being confounded," *i.e.* between right and wrong. Cp. xxiii. 7.

§ 8. **carcer**: the *Tullianum*, on the eastern slope of the Capitol, where it abuts on the Forum.

hoc rege: ablative of attendant circumstance, "when this man was king."

The **Silva Mesia** lay in the south-west corner of Etruria, between the Tiber and the *Mare Tyrrhenum.*

Ch. 34. § 1. **Lucumo**: another mythical name. In reality it is on Etruscan word, meaning "a noble." The *lucomones* of that nation

corresponded to the *patricii* of Rome. **Tarquiniis** : L. S. § 122 ; S. G. § 257. *Honor* is "rank," or "magistracy."

ibi quoque : *i.e.* in Tarquinii, as well as in Rome, he was an alien.

§ 2. **Corinthii** : a native of Corinth, on the isthmus of that name. Roman legends recorded a lively intimacy between that town and Etruria in early days, and from thence were said to have come all the great artists of Etruria.

ducta : "married." *Ducere uxorem* is said of the husband, *nubere* of the wife.

§ 3. **filio** : *i.e.* Arruns. The dative follows *superstes*, on the analogy of that after *supersum*.

ventrem ferre : = *gravidam esse.* **testando** : "in making his will." This absolute use of *testor* is less common than that in xxxii. 10 (= to call to witness).

in nullam : "born to, *i.e.* as the heir to no share of his property."

Egerio : punning of the words *egeo*, *egenus*. For the case see i. 3 *n*.

§ 4. **Lucumoni** : dative of reference. It may be rendered in English by the simple possessive genitive.

summo loco ; ablative of place, rather than origin, " of the noblest position."

ea quo innupsisset : lit. "those things whither she had intermarried," *i.e.* "the state of life into which she had married." A similar translation must be adopted for *his*, which is the ablative of comparison with *humiliora*. *Quae* must be taken = "such (a woman) as," in which sense the antecedent *ea* is usually expressed. Cp. xxi. 1 *n*. The subjunctive *innupsisset* is due to attraction to the mood of *sineret*.

§ 5. **videret** : the mood is due to *dummodo*. L. S. § 294 ; S. G. § 498. *Honoratum* is, of course, a secondary predicate. **ab Tarquiniis** : Cicero would have omitted the preposition, but Livy not uncommonly retains it. See L. S. § 117 ; S. G. § 261.

§ 6. **potissimum** : "the most preferable thing," *i.e.* place. The adjective is used as a complementary substantive rather than as a direct predicate, which would, of course, require *potissima*. Cp. *triste lupus stabulis*, " the wolf is a bane to the stalls."

in novo : some such verb as *reputabat* must be understood to control the oratio obliqua in this and the next section. This accounts for the moods of *sit* and *esset*.

repentina : "recent," *i.e.* not a hereditary and therefore an exclusive nobility.

imagine : "bust." The *imagines* were waxen portrait-busts representing the noble ancestors of a Roman. They stood in the vestibule of his house, and were carried publicly in his funeral procession. The more *imagines* he possessed, the more noble he was deemed to be. Of course there was no such custom in the early days at Rome, at least as Livy understands them. Ancus was the grandson of Numa, whose bust he could therefore boast of. The title to having one's features commemorated thus was the tenure of a curule office.

ut cupido: notice the double construction of *ut* in the same sense. With *cupido* it is absolute, *i.e.* has no verb ("as being ambitious"); with *cui* it is understood. L. S. § 274; S. G. § 477.

§ 8. **ventum erat**: notice the passive use of the intransitive **verb**, which is admissible only when impersonal. Cp. i. 1 *n.*

ei: sc. *Lucumoni.* L. S. § 42; S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

ministerio: dative of purpose or work contemplated.

§ 9. **complexa**: of course nominative singular; *excelsa et alta* are accusatives plural, objects of *sperare.* The notion of saying in *iubet* controls the oratio obliqua down to the end of the section.

eam alitem: *ales* is a technical word in augury for such birds as give omens by their flight, opposed to *oscines.* The quality of the omen depended upon (1) the kind of bird; (2) the quarter, right or left, upon which it appeared; (3) the god or goddess to whom it was supposed to be sacred. All were favourable in this case; but of course the whole tale is a legend.

§ 12. **dextre**: syncopated for *dextere*, which some editions read. Beware of translating *officia* as "offices." It means "duties" (= *opificia ;* lit. a doing of help).

interesset: after *ut* of result. L. S. § 282; S. G. § 449 (*b*). Distinguish *interesse* personal = "to be amongst, take part in," from *interesse*, impersonal = "to concern."

tutor: "guardian," one who exercised tutelage over minors and orphan girls.

Ch. 35. § 1. **creando**: the dative of work contemplated is particularly frequent with the gerund. L. S. § 145. *instare* is historic infin. L. S. § 103; S. G. § 517.

§ 2. **sub**: "immediately before." **venatum**: "to hunt," supine.

§ 3. **cum se**: *cum* is the conjunction, and some such verb as *diceret* is to be supplied to control the oratio obliqua, which continues to the end of § 5. For *quippe qui* see L. S. 274; S. G. § 477. It is subject to *adfectet.* **quod quisquam**: *quod* refers to the notion contained in *quippe qui primus adfectet*, "as to which any one might," etc.; *i.e.* if he *had* been the first it would have been matter of surprise. *Quisquam* is here used exceptionally. See note on xviii. 1

§ 4. **ex quo**: sc. *tempore. Fuerit* (for *fuisset*) would in oratic recta be *fui.*

qua: not governed by *fungantur*, the object of which is *officiis*, but ablative of point of time, sc. *aetate.*

§ 5. **poenitendo**: notice the personal gerundive from an impersonal and intransitive verb, in contradiction to L. S. § 90, *n.* 2; S. G. § 536.

§ 6. **cetera**: "in other points." Limiting accusative. L. S. § 135; S. G. § 253. *Secuta* (*est*) is the verb to which *virum* is objective.

minorum gentium: the "patricians of younger houses" were such as were created subsequently to the time of Romulus. The original senators were *patres maiorum gentium.* See Introd. § 4.

haud dubia: "decided," by *litotes.*

§ 8. The **Circus Maximus** lay in the *Vallis Murcia*, between the Aventine and Palatine Hills.

ubi: final; hence the mood of *facerent*, "In order that there they might make themselves seats." L. S. § 277; S. G. § 478.

spectacula: "a place for watching," "seats;" an unusual sense of the word.

§ 9. **spectavere**: "they looked on, props supporting the benches at a height of twelve feet each from the ground." **duodeni**: the distributive implies that the same height was observed in each case.

§ 10. **privatis**: dative of recipient with *divisa*. *Aedificanda* is merely predicative, "to be built upon."

Ch. 36. § 1. **posset**: the subjunctive is used by Livy after *priusquam*, although there is no notion of purpose; cp. note on *dimicarent* xxiv. 3.

§ 3. **neque mutari neque constitui**: observe that after a negative word such as *nullus*, *nunquam*, *nego*, "either . . . or" is expressed by *neque . . . neque;* and in these cases such subsequent negatives do not affect the sense. Cp. xxvi. 12, note.

aves: "birds" or "omens."

§ 4. **agedum**: when thus appended to an imperative, *dum* is a mere particle of emphasis, with no meaning of its own. So *agite dum*.

possit: subjunctive of indirect question, marked by *-ne* (= whether).

§ 5. **comitio**: remember that in the singular this word means the place in which the elections (*comitia*, pl.) were held. It was, in early times, to the north of the Forum, between that, the Capitoline Hill, and the Senate-house (*Curia*).

summa rerum: "most important matters." *Summa* is the neut. pl. of the superlative, used substantively. Cicero would say *summae res*.

§ 7. **alterum tantum**: lit. "another so-much," *i.e.* "as many again." The number of 1,800, which Livy gives as the total of the equites, appears inconsistent with his previous statements. In i. 13 he says that Romulus instituted three centuries of equites, in i. 30 that Tullus Hostilius added ten more (supposed to be equal to 300 more). This gives 600 equites. If, then, Tarquinius doubled this number, the total would be 1,200, not 1,800.

Ch. 37. § 1. **missis**: sc. *hominibus*. The following *qui* is final. L. S. § 278; S. G. § 478.

in ratibus: "being on rafts." The logs were piled on rafts, fired, and allowed to drift against the piles (*sublicis*) of the bridge which the Sabines had thrown over the Anio.

† The text has been emended by appending *que* to *sublicis*. *In ratibus* will then go with *impacta*, and will stand in its usual sense, "jammed amongst the boats and piles." The bridge is, with this reading, supposed to be partly of boats, partly of piles.

§ 2. **quoque** : *i.e.* the burning of the bridge, as well as the increase in the numbers of the Romans.

ad urbem : to be taken with *fluitantia*. *Insignem* is the secondary predicate to *fecere*.

§ 3. **ferunt** : sc. *quidam*, "men say." Notice that *curro*, in compounds, usually drops the reduplication of the perfect, like *pello*. *Decurro*, however, retains it.

instantes : accusative.

§ 4. **petebant** : "tried to seek, make for."

§ 5. **male gestae** : "though they had been defeated," the regular phrase.

§ 6. **gesturos** : sc. *se*.

tumultuario : "levied in a hurry," and so "undisciplined."

Ch. 38. § 1. **eamque** : "the following,' "as follows."

§ 2. **oratores** : cp. xv. 5 *n*. The tense of *dederetis* is due to that of *missi*, which is an aorist perfect, "who were sent."

in sua potestate : "its own master," *i.e.* acting on its own free will. The phrase = *sui potens*, xxxv. 4.

§ 4. **universae rei** : "a battle of their whole forces," *i.e.* one decisive battle. *Ubi* is here = *et ibi*, just as *qui*, etc. = *et is*, etc.

aut qui : the antecedent (*de eis populis*) is suppressed.

§ 6. **cloacis** : "he drained by sewers conducted with a slope (*fastigio*) to the Tiber." *Fastigium* properly means "an elevation," and hence "an angle of elevation," "slope." The *Cloaca Maxima*, still extant, was the chief of these sewers, which to this day drain Rome in all directions.

† Some editions insert *e* before *fastigio*, = from higher ground.

§ 7. **ad aedem** : "for a temple." The dative would be more usual.

Ch. 39. § 1. **puero** : dative equivalent to a genitive after *caput*.

Servio : for the case cp. i. 3.

§ 2. **reges** : *i.e. regem et reginam*.

familiarium : "slaves." The word originally = *famulus* ; and the original sense of *familia* is not "family" (of relatives), but "household" (of slaves, etc.), "establishment." The construction is still oratio obliqua after *ferunt*, *retentum* (*esse*), being a principal verb like *vetuisse*. To the latter verb, however, the subject is *reginam* understood.

§ 3. **secretum** : sc. *locum*. **Viden ?** = *videsne ?* a common contraction in poetry. So *audin ? ain ?* (= *audisne ? aisne ?*).

scire licet : usually written in the contracted form *scilicet*, "of course," "any one can see that."

quondam : "some day." Like *olim*, this word is usually used of *past* time. It occurs, however, occasionally as here.

§ 4. **coeptum haberi** : impersonally. The true subject is the clause *puerum haberi*, etc. When coupled with a passive infin. *coepi* always becomes *coeptus sum*, etc. **liberum** : cp. ix. 15.

cordi est: "is pleasant to;" lit. "is to the mind of." *Cordi* is predicative dative. † Most editions have *esset*, for which, however, Madvig reads *est*, the reading followed in the translation, as the maxim is quite a general one. If *esset* be kept, *evenit* is perfect, and *quod* causal. L. S. § 273.

iuvenis: predicative—"he turned out to be truly a youth of royal character."

§ 5. **credere**: verbs of hindering usually take *quin*. L. S. § 244; S. G. § 461 (1); but *impedio*, *prohibeo*, both admit also the simple infinitive. Remember that *hic tantus honos* represents "such high honour as this" in English.

servisse: this accus. and infin. is the object of *credere*. In the following sentence the first *qui* refers to *eorum*, and is subject of *ferunt*, which controls the accus. and infin. clause *uxorem . . . edidisse partum*, as well as the oratio obliqua in the following section.

§ 6. **ut in domo**: for this use of *ut* cp. xxxiv. 7.

ut . . . crederetur: "brought it about that he was thought to have been born of a slave." **venerit**: the usual sequence would be *venisset*.

Ch. 40. § 2. **pro indignissimo**: this phrase is predicative to the accus. and infin. clauses, which are the object of *habuerant*—"though they had considered most disgraceful the fact that they had been expelled," etc., "and that there reigned at Rome," etc.

non modo, . . . sed ne quidem: "not only *not*, . . . but not even." *Non modo* may be used for *non modo non*, followed by *ne . . . quidem*, provided that the predicate or other word is common to both clauses, but stands with the latter. Here *stirpis* fulfils the required condition.

tum impensius: the construction changes, and continues independently of what has preceded. Such a case is known as an *anacoluthon* (Gk. = *non sequitur*). The regular syntax would be either (i) *Anci filii tum impensius indignabantur* (or *indignari*); or (ii) *Anci filiis duobus tum impensius crescebat* (or *crescere*) *indignitas*. The infinitive is of course historic. *Indignitas* is here used in the unusual sense of "indignation." It commonly signifies "that which arouses indignation," "an insult." *Indignor si* is a construction borrowed from the Greek, *si* standing for Latin *ut*. So *miror si*. L. S. § 234, NOTE.

§ 3. **post centesimum**: = *centesimo fere anno postquam*, etc. Cp. xviii. 2 *n*. The following subjunctives are all put in the primary rather than the historic tenses, for the sake of vivid effect, representing the fact as if present.

dedecus fore: sc. *putabant*. **virili stirpe salva**: abl. absolute. In oratio recta we should have *dedecus erit si . . . patet*.

§ 4. **rex . . . privatus**: "one who was a king, rather than one who was a private citizen."

delegisset: "whomsoever else he chose as his son-in-law, he seemed likely to make him also his heir." The mood of *delegisset* is due to the suppressed hypothesis contained in *facturus*. In full it would be *eum heredem facturus erat, si quem delegisset generum*.

§ 5. **quibus**: *i.e. iis ferramentis quibus consueti erant*. The clause

belongs as an ablative of cause with *convertunt:* they drew attention by their quarrelsome gestures with their iron tools. Notice *uterque* with a plural verb.

quam tumultuosissime: L. S. § 177 ; S. G. § 353.

§ 6. **in vicem** : "in turns."

§ 7. **se totus averteret** : "turned his attention solely to him."

telo : used of any weapon, as here = *securi.* It does not necessarily mean a dart or arrow. **foras** : an adverbial form, really the accus. of motion from *fora* (like *foris*), a door = "towards the doors."

Ch. 41. § 1. **illos** : the assassins.

quid rei : "what manner of thing." L. S. § 141 ; S. G. § 270. *Miror* = to wonder at something new and strange ; *admiror* = to wonder at something great and marvellous.

quae curando : notice the use of *opus* with a nominative to which it is predicative. Its idiomatic construction is with an ablative of instrument, lit. "there is work with" (L. S. § 55 ; S. G. § 308), and rarely with a genitive.

si destituat : cp. *si forte ferrent*, vii. 6, *n.*

§ 2. **ludibrio** : dative of result (predicative dative). L. S. 144 ; S. G. § 297.

tuum . . . eorum : cp. *meam populique . . . dicionem*, xxxviii. 2. The genitives are, of course, possessive.

§ 3. **hoc** : "this head of yours." *Hoc* = *tuum.* It is more commonly = *meum.*

excitet : L. S. § 208 ; S. G. § 444.

qui sis : notice that *qui* is adjectival, not pronominal, which would require *quis*—"bethink you what you are."

§ 4. **ad Iovis** : sc. *templum.* Cp. *ad Murciae*, xxxiii. 5.

§ 5. **sopitum** : "stunned." The oratio obliqua depends on the idea of saying in *iubet.*

confidere : sc. *se.* The subject to *iubere* is *regem* understood. *Dicto audiens esse alicui* = lit. "to be obedient to a man, that is to his command," *i.e.* "to obey." *alicui* is dative, governed by the phrase *dicto audiens esse*, which is considered as one notion = *pareo.*

§ 6. **trabea** : a toga, ornamented with horizontal purple stripes, worn by the kings and by the consuls in public solemnities. Later on it became wholly purple, and was worn by the Roman emperors.

exspirasset : the mood is due to *cum*, concessive (although). L. S. § 264 ; S. G. § 483.

§ 7. **exulatum ierant** : "had gone into exile ;" lit. "had gone to be exiled." The supine denotes the "goal of motion," and the construction is analogous to the acc. of *town whither*, without a preposition. *Exulo* is passive in meaning, though active in form.

Ch. 42. § 1. **munire** : historic infinitive. L. S. § 103 ; S. G. § 517. **liberum** : gen. plural. Cp. *fabrum*, xliii. 3.

§ 2. **quin** : L. S. § 244, *n.* 2 ; S. G. § 461 (1). *Nec rupit* is virtually = *nec impediit.*

exierant: "had run out," "expired."

§ 3. **periclitaretur**: "whether he were to make trial of (lit. risk, hazard) the temper of Senate or people."

fuisset: by attraction to the mood of *ferrent*.

ordinum: "classes" of the populace. *Ordo* has usually a special meaning, as (1) the Senate; (2) the *equites*.

aliquid interlucet: "between whose grades there appears anything of rank or fortune," *i.e.* whose grades are distinguished by their rank and fortune.

§ 5. **censum**: *census* has two meanings—(1) the original sense of "an assessing, rating;" (2) thence "that at which one is assessed or rated," "property." The first sense is that required here. During the earlier part of the Republic the *census* was conducted every fifth year, by two patrician censors elected for the purpose, their duty being to make any corrections necessary in the previous assessment, as well as to keep watch over the morals of the whole community.

habitu pecuniarum: "according to his *having* in money," *i.e.* according to the amount he possessed.

Ch. 43. § 1. For an explanation of this chapter see Introduction. **centum milium**: the gen. depends on *censum*. With *milium* supply *sestertiorum*, and so throughout the chapter. **aeris**: "copper money." The mood of *haberent* is due to *qui*. L. S. § 283; S. G. § 482 (generic).

ut praesto essent: the *ut* is final, and some such words as "he did so" must be supplied.

§ 2. **foris**: the locative of the same noun-stem which gives *foras*, xl. 7 *n*. It means "out-of-doors," and so "abroad."

clipeum: a small, round shield of brass; while *scutum* was an oblong wooden shield. The horseman's shield is *parma*.

§ 5. **in quinquaginta**: "*down to* property of 50,000 sesterces."

§ 7. **accensi**: "supernumeraries" (*ad—censeo*). The word has nothing to do with *accendo*.

§ 8. **undecim milibus**: ablative of price. L. S. § 127; S. G. § 316.

hoc minor: "property less than this." With *hoc* supply *censu*.

militia: ablative. L. S. § 51; S. G. § 307.

§ 9. "For buying horses there were given to each 10,000 sesterces from the public funds, and widows were appointed to pay yearly 2,000 sesterces with which they might provision their horses." A tax was laid on widows, and applied to keeping the horses of the *equites*. **penderent**: L. S. § 278; S. G. § 478.

§ 10. **honos**: "privileges." **vis**: "influence," because the wealthier classes had far the larger number of votes.

§ 11. **vocabantur**: "were called to give their vote." The word *classis*, from root *cal* of *clamo* and καλέω, is the same as the Greek κλῆσις, and means literally "a calling," "summons."

variaret: "if there were any difference of opinion." The *equites* and the *prima classis* commanded (18 + 80 =) 98 votes between

them, which was more than half the whole amount; so that if they agreed there was no need for any further polling.

ut vocarentur: the *ut* depends on some such phrase as "it was arranged," understood. **descenderent**: *i.e.* the summons to vote seldom reached the lower centuries of the second class, because the knights and the first class generally agreed, or the dissentients were so few that the upper centuries of the second class, voting with the majority, usually decided the poll.

§ 12. **ordinem**: "arrangement," *i.e.* that of voting by tribes, the full number of which (thirty-five) was not completed until 241 B.C. Their votes were increased to seventy by dividing each tribe into seniors and juniors.

summam: "the sum total," substantive.

§ 13. **tribus**, **tribuo**, and **tributum** are all derived from *tres*. The original number of tribes was three, and when this was exceeded *tribus* remained in use = a division, part. **ab eodem**: sc. *rege;* Servius. **aequaliter**: "proportionately." The four city tribes of Servius were the Palatine, Suburran, Colline, and Esquiline.

Ch. 44. § 1. **quem maturaverat**: "which he had hurried on by terror of the law passed about those who were not registered."

Campo Martio: henceforward this became the regular *comitium*.

§ 2. **suovetaurilibus**: "a sacrifice of boars (*sues*), rams (*oves*), and bulls (*tauri*)."

conditum lustrum: "this ceremony was called the closing of the *lustrum*." *Lustrum* (from *luo*) is properly "an expiation *or* purification;" but from its special use for the sacrifice, by which a census was completed every five years, it came to = a period of five years.

§ 3. The Esquiline Hill lay due east of the Capitol, north-east of the Palatine; the Quirinal lay north-east of the Capitol, and between the Esquiline and Quirinal lay the Viminal.

pomerium: the true etymology is that which derives the word from *post* and *murus*—"what lay beyond the walls." It was a belt of land, a mile in depth, surrounding the city, and left unoccupied.

§ 4. **certis circa terminis**: "with definite limits on both sides of the wall."

coniungunt: sc. *moenibus*—"actually join to the walls."

quod . . . esset: the subjunctive gives the *untrue* reason. With *murus post id* supply *erat*, the *true* reason. L. S. § 272; S. G. § 487, *Obs.* 1.

Ch. 45. § 1. **magnitudine**: abl. of cause, explaining the preceding abl. absolute.

consilio: "by policy."

§ 2. **laudare**: historic infinitive. **de industria**: "on purpose."

cum quibus: Cicero would write *quibuscum*.

§ 3. **uni se**: the order is *fors* (opportunity), *imperii recuperandi privato consilio visa est dare se uni ex Sabinis.*

patri familiae : "head of a household," *i.e.* "man of property." See xxxix. 2, note on *familiaris.* The more usual form is *patri familias.* S. G. § 17, 1.

§ 4. **miraculo** : "a memorial for that prodigy," dative of advantage.

§ 5. **ibi** : = *ei civitati.* **carmen** : "prophecy."

§ 6. **responsi** : "the oracle," *i.e.* the reply of the soothsayers, mentioned § 5.

facere : the infinitive depends on *paras* understood.

quin : "why do you not. . . ?" The regular usage of *quin* with the indicative. **ante** : "first," *i.e.* before sacrificing.

Ch. 46. § 1. **usu** : "by possession." This, like *possederat*, is a legal term. *Possideo* is "to be owner of ;" and possession for any length of time was, in the eye of the law, a title to ownership.

se : refers, of course, to Servius, the subject of the principal verb. So also two lines below.

voluntate : abl. absolute with *conciliata ; agro diviso* is an ablative of means.

ferre ad populum : the regular phrase for "to bring a motion before the people," "to introduce a law" (*rogatio*). Cp. xvii. 9, notes.

vellent iuberent : the oblique form (L. S. § 311 ; S. G. § 468) of the formula by which a motion was put, *e.g. velitis iubeatis me regnare ?* The subjunctives in the direct form are those of question, depending on *rogo* understood.

§ 2. **adversa voluntate** : abl. absolute. Remember that *cresco* is intransitive, = "to gain strength."

§ 3. **tragici** : "such as occurs in (Greek) tragedies," as, for instance, in the case of Clytemnestra, who slew her husband, Agamemnon, and so became sole ruler of Mycenae.

§ 4. **filius neposne** : *utrum* is omitted, and the double question depends on *liquet*, "It is not very clear whether."

ediderim : "I should like to give him out as the son." L. S. § 210 ; S. G. § 430.

§ 5. **duo violenta** : the passionate Tarquin married a gentle wife, the gentle Arruns a passionate wife.

ne : *that . . . not* in consecutive sentences is usually rendered by *ut . . . non.* L. S. § 281 ; S. G. § 457.

fortuna : abl. of cause. **quo** : "in order that." L. S. § 278 *n.* ; S. G. § 453.

§ 6. **tota aversa** : cp. xl. 7. **mirari** : "professed admiration of him," complimented him. The infinitive, like *dicere* and *spernere*, is historic. L. S. § 103 ; S. G. § 517.

virum : here used, as "man" in English, to express one of spirit, "a man indeed." **cessaret** : "fell short of the courage of even a woman." *Cesso* usually = to be slow. The mood is due to virtual oblique oration, stating the speaker's view, not the actual fact (*cessabat*). L. S. § 314.

alieni : "another woman's." Below *aliena* = "another man's." *Viri* is here in its common sense of "husband."

futurum fuisse: "that she would better have been a maiden, and he a bachelor, than be mated to an unfit partner." The construction is irregular for *iunctos esse*. The full protasis would be *si iuncti essemus*, *futurum fuisse* being the oblique form of *fuissem* (*fuissemus*). *ut* is "in such a way that," and would usually be preceded by *ita*.

§ 8. **temeritatis**: L. S. § 51; S. G. § 318, *Obs.* 1. *Implet* is "infects."

continuatis: "without a break," *i.e.* one was scarcely buried before the other died.

† *Lucius* is an emendation for *Arruns*, because, as the subject to *iunguntur* is certainly the *wicked* Tarquin and the *wicked* wife, it is argued that the subject of *fecissent* must be the same. If *Arruns* be kept the change of subject is very harsh.

Ch. 47. § 1. **infestior**: like *infestius*, this is used in a passive sense, "more *hated*." The commoner force is active, "hostile."

§ 2. **cui nupta diceretur**: the antecedent to *cui* is *virum*, subject of *defuisse*; and the oratio obliqua is controlled by some such word as *dictitabat*, understood from the previous clause—"She had not wanted one to whom she might be said to be wedded," *i.e.* a husband as far only as name went.

se . . . se: referring not to Tullia, the speaker, but to *qui*, the subject of a dependent sentence. Such a use of the reflexive is permissible only when there can be no possible ambiguity.

quam sperare: *malo*, being = *magis volo*, is regularly followed by *quam*.

§ 3. **appello**: sc. *te*. **istic**: = *in te*. The sense is easily understood, because *iste* is a *deictic* pronominal adjective, *i.e.* accompanied by a gesture pointing out the object to which it is referred. **quin accingeris**: cp. xlv. 6, note.

§ 4. **ab Corintho . . . ab Tarquiniis**: the preposition does not express motion from, but origin, so that *tu ab Corintho* = "you who are a Corinthian." This use of a prepositional phrase to qualify a substantive is common enough in Greek (*e.g.* οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως), but Latin prose of the best period would make it dependent on a verb.

imago: see on xxxiv. 6.

creat vocatque: notice the singular verbs, that number being preferred because the last member of the compound subject is singular (*nomen*).

§ 5. **animi**: with *parum*. L. S. § 141; S. G. § 271.

facesse: here used in the less usual sense of "to depart." *Devolvere* is imperative passive.

§ 7. All the infinitives in this section are historic. **beneficii**: L. S. § 35, NOTE 5; S. G. § 279, *Obs.* 2.

regis criminibus: "charges against the king." Notice the objective genitive.

§ 9. **fraudi esset**: "lest their not having come might be a damage to them." *Fraudi* is a dative of the predicate, like *cordi*, xxxix. 4.

ne non : *ne* is the negative after *metu* (= *metuentes*) ; *non* goes with the verb *venisse*, "lest the not coming."

actum : "that, as regarded Servius, the matter had been ended," *i.e.* "that it was all over with Servius," a common phrase.

§ 10. **ultima** : "farthest," *i.e.* "first." *maledicta orsus*, being virtually equal to the phrase "saying contemptuously," governs the following clauses in oratio obliqua.

auctoribus : cp. on xvii. 9.

agrum divisisse : his agrarian law was mentioned in xlvi. 1.

Ch. 48. § 1. **nuntio** : the absence of the preposition shows that the word is here used not in the personal sense of "a messenger but in the instrumental sense of "a message."

vocare patres : the right of convening the Senate belonged origin ally to the king only, and in Republican times to the consuls, later to the praetors and tribunes.

§ 2. **ad haec** : sc. *respondit*.

potiorem : attributive to *heredem*, which is in apposition to *se*, as is also *filium*.

§ 3. **apparebat** : "it was clear, manifest," not "appeared," in the English sense of the word.

regnaturum : the oblique form of *regnabit qui vicerit*.

medium : "by the middle," "by the waist."

§ 4. The bracketed words are probably spurious, being acciden tally repeated here by the copyist from § 6. Notice the difference in the tense—"as he was returning, and had now reached," etc.

§ 5. **abhorret** : impersonal.

§ 6. **facessere** : cp. xlvii. 5. *Dianium* is a Greek form from *Diana*. and = a place sacred to Diana.

flectenti : sc. *Tulliae*, dative of the indirect object with *ostendit*.

† Some editions read *flectente* (sc. *Tullia*), ablative absolute. For *Urbium* some have *Orbium* or *Virbium*. The exact position of this street, as that of the *Vicus Cyprius*, is unknown; both were at the higher, or eastern, end of the Forum, where the ground slopes up to the Esquiline Hill.

§ 7. **monumento** : dative of predicate. L. S. § 144 ; S. G. § 297. The construction is very frequent in the following chapters, *e.g.* li. 3 ; liv. 9 ; lvi. 8.

furiis : according to the Greek belief, a murderer was haunted by three malignant goddesses—*furiae*, *erinnyes*—who drove him to further crimes. **viri** : Arruns.

§ 9. **esset** : subjunctive, as giving Servius' reason, L. S. § 271 ; S. G. § 487.

Ch. 49. § 2. **armatis** : *i.e.* established a body-guard.

§ 3. **ut qui** : L. S. § 274 ; S. G. § 477.

§ 4. **eo** : "to this was added," etc. **spei** : L. S. § 141 ; S. G. § 271. **reponenti** is dative of the agent after the gerundive. Sc. *ei*, L. S. § 111 ; S. G. § 294.

§ 5. **bonis multare**: "fine them in goods." The ablative is one of price. L. S. § 112; S. G. § 316. **causam**: pretext.

unde: = *eos, a quibus.* The conjunction is generic, and hence the mood of *posset.* L. S. § 283 *n*; S. G. § 482.

§ 6. **per se**: "by their agency." The reflexive refers not to *Tarquinius*, but to *patres.* **cum quibus**: cp. xlv. 2.

§ 9. **ab Ulixe**: *oriundus* is followed by *ab* when *remote* descent is indicated, otherwise the ablative only.

nuptum: the supine is regularly used in this phrase, though otherwise restricted to verbs implying motion.

Ch. 50. § 1. **esse quae**: sc. *dixit.* **frequentes**: notice that this word and its cognates rarely mean "frequent," etc., but commonly signify, as here, "in crowds." Notice, too, that *dies* is feminine in this section, masculine in the next. The usual distinction made between the two usages is that (1) *dies*, masculine, means a particular day; (2) *dies*, feminine, = "a time," "season," as we say "a day will come when," etc.

§ 3. **ab Aricia**: cp. *ab Corintho*, xlvii. 4 *n.*

an: when used to introduce a direct question, this particle implies that the opposite of it would be absurd. Notice the use of *esse, apparere, portendi*, to express rhetorical questions in first or third persons in oratio obliqua (L. S. § 312; S. G. § 469), and the vivid use of the primary tenses of the subjunction, in lieu of the historic (*acceperint, premat*, etc.).

§ 5. **crediderint**: "entrusted."

§ 6. **exulatum**: cp. xli. 7; lx. 2.

si se audiant: in oratio recta, *si me audiatis, domum suam quisque abeatis*, etc. L. S. § 250 (*a*); S. G. § 426.

§ 7. **cum maxime**: "just at the moment when."

§ 8. **id temporis**: "at such a time," *i.e.* so late. L. S. § 134, *n.* 2; S. G. § 270. For other phrases in which the acc., and not the abl., is used to express *time when*, cp. *id aetatis, hoc noctis.* The mood of *venisset* is due to the preceding subjunctive, *purgaret*, by attraction.

§ 9. **tulisse**: "he did not obtain even this from Turnus without remark, for (Turnus) said," etc. Notice the abrupt change of subject, and also the use of *tacitus* in a passive sense (= left in peace). Usually it is active, "peaceful."

infortunium: "he would get into trouble." The phrase is colloquial and vulgar.

Ch. 51. § 1. **pro imperio**: "by virtue of his (Tarquin's) authority." He had no right to punish a Latin.

§ 2. **sineret**: *ut* is to be understood after *corrupit.* Some editions insert it. **vim magnam**: "a large number."

§ 4. The construction is oblique down to the end of § 6. *auctor concilii* is "he who was responsible for the convocation," *i.e.* Tarquin. Notice the free use of primary for historic sequence. **aggressurum fuisse**: the protasis is suppressed (*e.g. si potuisset*).

§ 6. **vanum necne**: sc. *utrum* before *vanum*. L. S. § 225, 226; S. G. §§ 433, 436.

§ 8. **enimvero manifesta**: "only too manifest." The usual use of *enimvero* is to introduce a new sentence (= well, at any rate).

§ 9. **indicta causa**: "unheard," lit. "his case not having been pleaded." **caput**: "source."

Ch. 52. § 1. **adfecissent**: the mood is due to the causal force of *qui*—"seeing that they had punished."

§ 3. **censere**: "voted for," "thought." The preceding *id* is anticipatory, *i.e.* is explained by the following *ut* clauses, all being alike the object of *censere*. *Ut participes*, "like partners."

quam: resuming *magis*. *ut* is commonly omitted in such cases, and the verb remains in the subjunctive, as though it were expressed.

§ 4. **capita**: "chiefs." Cp. xxiii. 4.

§ 6. **exbinis singulos**: "so as to make one of every two, and two of every one," *i.e.* given two maniples of 200 each—one Latin, the other Roman—Tarquin organized them afresh as two maniples, containing 100 Latins and 100 Romans each. Each company of 100 would be commanded by a centurion; so that whereas the original company had had one officer, either Roman or Latin, it now had two, one from each nation. A maniple comprised one-fifteenth of a line (whether *hastati*, *principes*, or *triarii*), and took its name from the "wisp of hay" (*manipulus*) which formed the original standard. **ex Latinis**: the preposition shows that *Latinis* and *Romanis* are treated as ablatives of material; lit. "he mixed companies out of," *i.e.* "made mixed companies of Latins and Romans alike."

Ch. 53. § 1. **quin**: when used as marking neither a direct nor indirect question (see xlv. 6, and S. G. § 461) *quin* may be translated "nay, more," or "why, even."

ni degeneratum: "had not his degeneracy . . . prevented him." The use of the participle as a noun is almost confined to Livy amongst Latin writers; in Greek it is not uncommon in Thucydides.

§ 2. **in ducentos**: "to last for 200 years and more after his time." Compare the use of *amplius*, cited L. S. § 115, *n.* 2; S. G. § 349.

§ 3. **eam . . . quae**: see on xxi. 1. In English we reverse the construction, and say "a temple of such size as," etc.

§ 4. **lentius spe**: "less speedy than he had expected." L. S. § 115, *n.* 5; S. G. § 320, *Obs.* 2. **pulso**: sc. *ei*. L. S. § 42; S. G. § 292, *Obs.* 2.

§ 6. The construction becomes oblique to the beginning of § 10, controlled by the idea of saying in *conquerens*. The subject to *vertisse* is *Tarquinium*.

§ 10: **talis esset**: the subject is still *Tarquinius*. **sibi**: Gabinis. **eius**: *sexti Tarquinii*. In oratio recta, *nobis gratus est tuus, Sexte, adventus; et credimus brevi fore ut, te adiuvante*, etc.

Ch. 54. § 1. **adhiberi**: the subject to this infinitive is Sextus Tarquinius. The following infins. are also historic.

notiores: sc. *res*, "to whom these matters were better known."

in eo: explained by the following clauses, introduced by *quod*. The verbs *nosset, sciret* are subjunctive, as stating *his* version of the reasons (virtual oblique oration).

prudentiam: knowledge, skill.

§ 2. **praedatum**: governed by *iret*.

§ 3. **cum insciâ**: the *cum* is, of course, a conjunction, and the ablative is absolute.

§ 5. **ut omnia**: "as he had full powers at Gabii." *Omnia* is cognate or internal, accus. L. S. § 33; S. G. § 253. The moods of *posset*, *dedissent* are due to virtual oblique oration. L. S. § 314.

§ 6. **deliberabundus**: cp. *populabundi*, xvi. 1.

§ 7. **dixerit**: *i.e. nuntius.* The oratio obliqua depends on a verb of saying understood from *rĕfert*. Distinguish *rĕfert* and *rēfert*.

§ 8. **vellet . . . praeciperet**: L. S. 227; S. G. § 433.

opportunos: "fit for his purpose," lit. "suitable."

quibusdam volentibus: "to some who wished for it." The use of the participle is a Graecism. A relative defining clause would be more usual, *qui vellent*.

§ 9. **iuxta atque**: *iuxta*, like *aeque*, *pariter*, etc., is followed by *ac* or *atque*, in the sense of "equally with," "just like." **divisui fuere**: "was for a division," *i.e.* "was divided."

Ch. 55. § 1. **monte Tarpeio**: *i.e.* the Capitoline Hill, which had previously been known as the Tarpeian. See the legend in ch. 9, a legend invented, of course, to explain the name.

Tarquinios: the accus. and infin. depend on the idea of "declaring" in *monumentum*, "a memorial *setting forth* that," etc.

§ 2. **religionibus**: here in the English sense of "religious observances." As a matter of fact, the Capitoline Temple was threefold, consecrated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the great Etruscan Trinity.

exaugurare: notice the force of the preposition, "to cancel an augury," "to make profane what was before holy."

§ 3. **huius operis**: "this great work, *or* building." **movisse numen**: "exerted their power."

Terminus: the deity who presided over and protected the boundaries of the State. His declining to move augured well for the fixity of those boundaries.

§ 6. **caputque rerum**: "the centre of the State." Hence came the name of Capitolium. *Cecinere* is "prophesied."

§ 8. **crediderim**: L. S. § 210; S. G. § 430. **pondo**: here used as a genitive plural, the usual case after *milia*.

§ 9. **nullius non**: = *cuiuslibet*, "a sum that would not surpass the (cost of the) foundation of no magnificence of buildings, not even of these (of our time)," *i.e.* "likely to be enough for the foundation of any temple, however magnificent, even of our time."

Ch. 56. § 1. **operis**: from *opera, -ae*, "labour," here used in the concrete sense of "labourers."

§ 2. **foros**: "benches" for the spectators at the games, as in xxxv. 8. The accusatives (gerundival constructions, L. S. § 92; S. G. § 537) depend on the foregoing *ad*, being in apposition to *opera*.

quicquam: "in any wise," a limiting accusative. L. S. § 135; S. G. § 253.

§ 3. **ubi non esset**: the subjunctive is used because of the hypothetical force of *ubi*, which = *si ibi*, "supposing there were no use for it in the city." L. S. § 258; S. G. § 475.

marique: because of the position of Circeii, on the sea-coast.

§ 5. **mittere**: the object must be supplied, *e.g. quosdam* or *legatos*.

§ 7. **alius ingenio**: lit. "different in mind (from that mind), of which he had assumed the appearance." *Ingenio* is an ablative of respect. *Alius quam* or *alius ac* (*atque*) are both found, = differing from.

ubi in iure: "since at that date (*or* in that place) there was too little protection in right." *Ubi* is causal. L. S. § 273; S. G. § 476.

§ 8. **Bruti**: "the Dullard."

§ 9. **per ambages**: "in a parable," "by riddles." The worthless casing of the costly staff represented the assumed boorishness of Brutus.

§ 11. **Tarquinius Sextus**: this is subject to the clause *ut . . . esset*. It is placed first in the sentence for the sake of emphasis.

§ 12. **quod esset**: "plainly because, *to his mind*, she was." Notice the force of the subjunctive.

Ch. 57. § 1. **ut in ea**: in English we say, "considering the place and time." **eaque**: for *idque*.

ditari: the verb is really middle or reflexive, "to make himself rich." It depends, like *delenire*, on *studebat*.

§ 2. **si posset**: for the omission of the apodosis, cp. vii. 6 *n*.

§ 4. **commeatus**: "furloughs," "leave of absence." The word more commonly means "supplies."

§ 7. **id quidem**: anticipatory. For *quin* in a direct question see xlvii. 4.

spectatissimum: "let each regard as most trustworthy that which meets his eyes on the husband's unforeseen arrival" (lit. let that be for each most trustworthy). *Spectatus* was the term applied to a gladiator who had served his time, "proven," and hence "worthy of trust." Cp. § 10. **age**: notice the use of the singular instead of the plural. This imperative came to be virtually an exclamation. It is often strengthened by *-dum* suffixed (xxxvi. 4).

§ 9. **lanae**: "wool," *i.e.* "spinning." Cp. *deditis ludicro*, v. 3. For *in medio aedium* we should commonly have (*in*) *mediis aedibus*. *Aequales* are "equals in age." **laus**: "highest merit."

Ch. 58. § 2. **satis tuta**: sc. *omnia*, understood from the following *omnes*. *Circa* is an adverb.

§ 3. **pavida ex somno**: "awaking in alarm from her sleep."

§ 4. **positurum**: *se* is to be supplied, as in xli. 5, etc. The following *ut* is final ("in order that").

§ 5. **eundem**: = *unum eundemque*, "one and the same messenger." **facto . . . maturato**: the participles are used as nouns. Cp. *degeneratum*, liii. 1. The accus. and infins. express the messenger's report.

§ 7. **Satin salve?** *i.e. Satisne agis salve?* where *salve* is an adverb, "Are you quite well?" For the contracted form *satin*, cp. *viden*, xxxix. 3.

fore: *dare fidem*, being = "to promise," takes accus. and infin. construction.

§ 8. **mihi sibique**: to be taken with *pestiferum*, "a joy ruinous to me, ay, and to him too, if ye are men."

§ 9. **animi**: either genitive of *thing in point of which* (L. S. § 138, NOTE; S. G. § 285, *Obs.*), or locative.

mentem peccare: not *her* mind, but "a man's mind." The maxim is quite general. The oratio oblique depends on some such words as "they said in consolation."

§ 10. **videritis**: the perfect subjunctive is preferred to the present in definite commands. L. S. 208 *n.*

Ch. 59. § 1. **manante cruore**: best taken as an ablative of quality. L. S. § 133; S. G. § 319; but some read *manantem*, which is preferable.

regnare: "to be a king at Rome."

§ 2. **unde novum**: the verb *esset* is understood, the whole clause being an indirect question depending on *stupentibus*, and virtually explanatory of *miraculo rei*, "wondering at the marvel, namely, whence came," etc.

§ 3. **indignitate**: "indignation," as in xlvii. 9, and in § 11, below.

§ 4. **hostilia ausos**: "them that had dared this hostile deed." *Deceret* is subjunctive, as giving Brutus' views (virtual oblique oration).

§ 5. **pari praesidio**: either (1) a guard equal to those who went to Rome, or (2) a suitable, adequate guard.

† Some editions read *pars . . . relicta*, others *parte . . . relicta.*

regibus: "the royal family." Cp. its use in plural, xxxix. 2.

§ 6. **vident**: the subject to this verb and to *rentur* is *cives*, understood. *Esse* is here used = *fieri*.

§ 7. **tribunum Celerum**: "Master of the Horse." The old name for the *equites* was *Celeres*. Cp. xv.

§ 8. **pectoris ingeniique**: L. S. § 142; S. G. § 265.

Tricipitini: *i.e.* Lucretius Tricipitinus, father of Lucretia. **esset**: cp. *deceret*, § 4.

§ 11. **relatu**: L. S. 99; S. G. § 544.

§ 12. **nomina dabant**: cp. xi. 4 *n.*

Praefecto Urbis: the Praefectus Urbis was an officer appointed by the king to manage home affairs in his own absence, especially the

administration of justice. During the Republic the office lapsed; but it was revived in the time of Augustus, possibly even by Julius Caesar, and remained one of the most important offices under the emperors.

§ 13. **furias**: see on xlviii. 7, note.

Ch. 60. § 1. **adventum**: sc. Tarquinii.

Caere: accusative. L. S. § 113; S. G. § 259. The noun is indeclinable. **exulatum**: see on xli. 7.

§ 3. **regnatum**: "there were kings at Rome." Cp. lix. 1.

§ 4. **consules**: the consul possessed in great part the same powers as did the kings, but he was also fettered by having a colleague with powers as full as his own, by having to bow to the judgment of the Senate, and by his holding office for a year only, and not for life. For many years the consuls were always patricians, and the real government passed into the hands of the *patres* and patricians. Nevertheless, from the expulsion of Tarquin the Arrogant, 510 B.C., is dated the beginning of the Republican period.

commentariis: "notes." Cp. xlviii. 9, where it is said that Servius had intended to resign the kingship. In these notes he was supposed to have drawn up rules for a Republican government with consuls, etc. There is, of course, no truth in the fable. **comitiis centuriatis**: the main function of the consuls, as in the case of the king, was to command the armies, hence they were elected always by the military assembly of the Centuries. See Introduction.

INDEX

OF PROPER NAMES.

A.

Aborigines, -um, m.: see Latium.

Achīvi, -orum, m.: the Homeric name for the collective peoples of Greece who attacked Troia (i. 1).

Actiacum Bellum: *s.v.* Augustus, and **xix.** 3 *n.*

Aenēas, -ae, m.: son of Anchises and Venus, husband of Creusa (iii. 2), and father of Ascanius or Iulus (iii. 1, 2). He escaped from the overthrow of Troia, and after many years of wandering, landed in Latium. There **Latinus**, king of the Latini (Aborigines, i. 5) gave him his daughter **Lavinia** (ii. 1), and so roused the anger of Turnus (ii. 1), prince of the Rutuli of Ardea, to whom she had previously been betrothed. Aeneas defeated and slew him in single combat,

settled among the people of Latinus, and so became the ancestor of the Romans. These events form the subject of Virgil's Aeneid, and are, of course, all fable.

Aequi, -orum, m. (also called Aequiculi) : the Aequians, a Sabine people dwelling in the mountains east of Rome, together with the Hernici and Marsi. They were not finally subdued until 302 B.C. Their chief seat was Mount Algidus (liii. 8).

Aequiculi, -orum, m. : see xxxii. 5 *n.* Also a name for the Aequi (*q.v.*).

Alba Longa, f. : the mother-city of Rome, founded by Ascanius (iii. 3) on the Alban Mount, and called Longa because of its being built along the slope of the mount. It was regarded as the oldest town and capital of Latium in the earliest times, and was razed by Tullus Hostilius, because of the treason of its king Mettus. Its population was at the same time transferred to Rome (xxix.).

Albanus Mons, m. : the Alban Mount, fifteen miles south-east of Rome, the site of Alba Longa, and famous in after times for its Temple of Jupiter Latians, where was celebrated the annual "festival of the Latins" (*Feriae Latinae*) by the Romans (iii. 3).

Arcus Marcius : reigned twenty-six years, 642-616 B.C.

Antemnates. -atium, m.. the people of **Antemnae -arum**, f., a town of the Sabines, at the confluence of the Tiber and Anio, and one of the three towns which endeavoured to avenge the rape of the Sabine women (ix. 8 ; x. 2 ; xi. 1).

Antenor, -oris, m. : a fugitive Trojan, sailed up the Adriatic Gulf and founded a town among the Eneti (*q.v.*), which he named Troia ; afterwards **Patavium** (*Padua*), the birthplace of Livy (i. 1-3).

Anio, -enis, and **-onis**, m. : the principal tributary of the Tiber ; flows through Tibur, and falls into the larger river about five miles above Rome, after a westerly course through the Aequian and Sabine Hills.

Apiolae, -arum, f. : a town of Latium, destroyed by Tarquinius Priscus (xxxv. 7).

Arcadia, -ae, f. : the mountainous country in the centre of the Peloponnesus whence was said to have come **Evander** (-ri, m.), the original colonist of the Palatine Hill and the entertainer of Hercules. He was the son of Carmenta, and is said to have introduced the alphabet into Latium (v., vii.).

Ardea, -ae, f. : an ancient town of Latium, twenty-five miles south of Rome and five miles from the coast, the capital of the Rutuli. the people of Turnus; *s.v.* Aeneas (lvii. 1). It was attacked by Tarquinius Superbus.

Argei, -orum, m. : see xxi. 5 *n.*

Argiletum, -i, n. : see xix. 2 *n.*

Aricia, -ae, f. : a Latin town on the Via Latina, at the west foot of Mons Albanus, fifteen miles from Rome (l. 3). Adj. **Aricinus, -a, -um.**

Augustus, -i, m. : the title by which the first Emperor of Rome was known after he became sole ruler. His original name was Cn. Octavius, and he was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar, the

dictator, who adopted him as his heir 45 B.C., and sent him to learn the art of war in Illyria. On the murder of Caesar, 44 B.C., by Brutus and Cassius, Octavius came to Italy to claim his rights as heir. He conciliated the people by paying to them the legacies which Caesar had left them, and was appointed general by the Senate against Antonius. He soon after joined Antonius, and with Lepidus, another Senatorian general, set up the Second Triumvirate, 43 B.C. Leaving Lepidus to control affairs in Italy, Octavius and Antonius proceeded to the East, defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, in Macedonia, 42 B.C., and divided the world between them. They soon quarrelled. Lepidus was the first to be deprived of his power, 36 B.C.; and five years later, 31 B.C., Octavius crushed Antonius, who was assisted by Cleopatra, at ACTIUM, in Epirus. This war was known as **Bellum Actiacum** (xix. 3). He now became sole ruler, and devoted himself to reducing the Roman world to order. He defeated all his opponents, and extended his empire from the Euphrates to the Rhine, even reaching as far as the Elbe for a time. He did all in his power to improve Rome and the Romans by justice and by the example of his own modest life. He was the patron of many of the writers of his time, and Livy was on good terms with him. He died 14 A.D., and was succeeded by Tiberius, his step-son. He closed the Temple of Janus in token of universal peace, 29 B.C. (xix. 3).

B.

Brutus, Lucius Junius, incited the husband of **Lucretia** to avenge her death on the Tarquins, and became one of the first pair of consuls. He earned his name Brutus (the Dullard) from the stupidity which he affected in order to disarm the suspicions of Tarquin the Arrogant (lvi., lix., lx.). The name, in Old Latin, really meant "The Resolute."

C.

Caenina, -ae, f.: a town of the Sabines, conquered by Romulus (ix. 8; x. 3). Adj. **Caeninensis, -e**.

Caere, n., indecl.: a famous town of Etruria, in the south corner of that country, twenty miles west-north-west of Rome. It was the capital of Mezentius (ii. 3).

Camenae, -arum, f.: Latin equivalent for the Greek "Muses."

Cameria, Corniculum, Ameriola, Ficulea, Medullia, and **Nomentum**: small towns of the Latins, lying to the north-east of Rome, between the Tiber and Anio, and said to have been conquered by Tarquinius Priscus (xxxviii.).

Campus Martius, m.: see xvi., i., *n.*

Capena Porta, f.: the Capuan Gate, between the Coelian and Aventine Hills, by which the *Appia Via* left the city. **Capenus, -a, -um**, is the adjective of Capua, -ae, f., the capital town of Campania, to which the *Via Appia* led (xxvi. 2).

Circe, -es, f.: an enchantress, said to have dwelt at **Circeii, -orum**, m., on the promontory of Circeium, in Latium, between Antium and

Tarracina. Ulysses stayed a whole year with her, and became the father of Telegonus, who founded Tusculum (xlix. 9).

Circeii : *s.v.* Circe.

Collatia, -ae, f., a Sabine town, east of Rome, on the Anio, and not far from Gabii ; captured by Tarquinius Priscus (xxxviii. 1).

Collatinus, -a, -um, a native of Collatia. The *cognomen* of Lucius Tarquinius, husband of Lucretia, and one of the first pair of consuls (lvii. 6 ; lx. 4).

Consualia, -um, n., a festival in honour of Neptunus Equester, established by Romulus (ix. 7).

Corinthus, -i, f., the town of the same name on the Isthmus of Corinth, the reputed birthplace of Demaratus, father of Tarquinius Priscus (xlvii. 4). Adj. **Corinthius, -a -um** (xxxiv. 1).

Crotona, -ae, f., a famous colony of the Achaean Greeks on the western headland of the Gulf of Taranto, and south of Sybaris. See *s.v.* Pythagoras (xviii. 2).

Crustumerium, -ii, n. (also **Crustumeria**, -**ae**, f., and **Crustumium, -ii**, n.), a Sabine town, twenty miles north-east of Rome, near the left bank of the Tiber. Adj. **Crustuminus, -a, -um** (xi. 3). It was colonized by Romulus (xi. 4).

Cures, -ium, m., a chief town of the Sabines, thirty-five miles north-east of Rome, between Mounts Lucretilis and Soracte, on the east bank of the Tiber. It was the birthplace of Numa and Tatius. See *s.v.* Quirites (xiii. 5).

Curiatii, -orum, m., the three Alban brothers who fought the Horatii (xxiv., xxv.).

Curtius Lacus, m., a pool in the Forum, said to have been named from Mettius Curtius, the Sabine, whose horse stuck in the quagmire (xiii. 5). Another legend derived its name from Mettus Curtius, a Roman who threw himself into a chasm which had opened on the spot, when the soothsayers declared it would not close until Rome's bravest man was sacrificed.

D.

Delphi, -orum, the town of .Phocis, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, famous for its oracle of Apollo (lvi. 5). Its ancient name was **Pythia, -ae** ; whence the adj., **Pythius, -a, -um**, and **Pythicus, -a, -um**, = Delphian (lvi. 11).

Diana Ephesia, f., Diana of the Ephesians ; the Goddess Artemis, who possessed a temple at Ephesus (-i, f.), in Asia Minor, which was reckoned one of the wonders of the world (xlv. 2). Servius is said to have introduced her worship in Rome.

Diespiter (only used in nom.), **m.** ; see xxiv. 8 *n*.

E.

Egeria, -ae, f., a nymph from whom Numa is said to have learnt his religious measures (xix. 5).

Egerius, -ii, m., a posthumous son of Demaratus, the father of

Tarquinius Priscus (xxxiv. 3, 4). He was the father of Tarquinius Collatinus (lvii. 6).

Eneti, -orum, m. (also **Veneti, -orum**), a small tribe about the head of the Adriatic, the modern Venice, in whose territory was Patavium, the colony of Antenor (i. 3).

Etruria, -ae, f. (adjs., **Etruscus, -a, -um; Tuscus, -a, -um; Tyrrhenus, -a, -um**) : the wide district lying between the Apennines and the western coast of Italy, north of the Tiber. It was inhabited by a peculiar people, whose power was far greater than that of Rome in early times, and who conquered all Latium, Campania, and Cisalpine Gaul. Rome herself was probably conquered, for the Tarquinii were an Etruscan family. **Veii, Caere,** and **Tarquinii** were amongst the chief towns of Etruria. From the Etruscans the Romans borrowed the lictors, *fasces*, curule chair, royal robes, augury, the art of building temples and sewers, plays, and many points of religious observance.

Euganei, -orum, m., the original inhabitants of the district occupied by the Eneti (*q.v.*). They were driven northwards towards the Alps by the invaders (i. 3).

Evander, -ri, m. : *s.v.* Arcadia.

F.

Ferentinum, -i, n. : a Latin town, eight miles south-east of Anagnia, where Tarquin the Arrogant convened the Latins (l.). The **Lucus Ferentinae** was probably in the immediate vicinity of the town.

Feronia, -ae, f. : see xxx. 4 *n.*

Ficana, -ae, f., and **Telleni, -orum,** m.: towns of the Latins destroyed by Ancus Marcius.

Fidenae, -orum, f. : a Sabine town, perhaps also a colony of Veii, situated on the Tiber, about ten miles north-east of Rome. It was notorious for its repeated revolts after conquest by the Romans (xiv. 4). Adj. **Fidenas, -atis.**

G.

Gabii, -orum, m. : on the road to Praeneste, ten miles due east of Rome. It was captured by Tarquinius Superbus by means of the treachery of his son Sextus. It was, according to tradition, the place where Romulus was brought up (liv., lv.).

H.

Heraclea, -ae, f. : a city of Magna Graecia, a colony of Tarentum, on the Gulf of Taranto, at the outfall of the Lucanian river Aciris (xviii. 2). See *s.v.* Pythagoras.

Hernici, -orum, m. : a Sabine people of the highlands south-east of Rome, lying between the Aequi on the north, and the Volsci on the south (liii. 8). Rome made an alliance with them 486 B.C., and they were finally conquered 306 B.C., after the second Samnite War.

Horatii, -**orum**, m.: the three brothers who fought and conquered the Curiatii. To save the survivor, when convicted of the murder of his sister, was instituted the right of appeal (xxiv. *sqq*.).

L.

Latini, -**orum**, m.: *s.v.* Latium.

Latinus, -**i**, m.: *s.v.* Aeneas.

Latium, -**ii**, n.: the country of the Latini, lying on the west coast of Italy, between the Tiber and the Sabines on the north, the Marsi and Samnium on the east, Campania on the south-east, and the sea. In the time of the kings this region was divided amongst several small tribes, such as the **Aequi**, **Hernici**, **Volsci** (*q.v.*), and the **Prisci Latini**, **Aborigines**, or Old Latins. The latter occupied thirty cities in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, chief amongst which was Alba Longa. After Alba was rased by Tullus Hostilius, the Latini were gradually reduced by successive kings, until the expulsion of Tarquin the Arrogant gave them the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Rome. They were finally conquered at the close of the Latin War, 338 B.C., and many of their towns received the full *civitas*, or franchise, of Rome. The remainder became allied towns (*socii*), with certain special privileges, and were known as the *Nomen Latinum*, in which, however, were included many other colonies of Rome outside Latium.

Laurentes, -**ium**, m.: the people of Lavinium.

Lavinia, -**ae**, f.: *s.v.* Aeneas.

Lavinium, -**ii**, n.: the town founded by Aeneas on his settlement in Latium. It lay near the coast, between Ardea and Ostia, on the estuary of the Tiber, and six miles east of **Laurentum**, the city of Latinus. The people of Lavinium are called **Laurentes** (xiv. 1), and the **Ager Laurentinus** was its territory.

Luceres, -**um**, m.: see Introduction, § 4.

Lucumo, -**onis**, m.: see xxxiv. 1 *n*.

Lucus, -**i**, m.: another name for the **Asylum**. See viii. 5, *notes*.

M.

Macedonia, -**ae**, f.: the district to the north of Greece still so called. Aeneas endeavoured to settle there, but was prevented by divine command (i. 3).

Malitiosa Silva, f.: see xxx. 9 *n*.

Manlius, Titus, m., in whose consulship was closed the Temple of Janus. See xix. 3 *n*.

Mesia Silva, f.: see xxxiii. 8 *n*.

Metapontum, -**i**, n. (or **Metapontium**); a colony of Achaean Greeks, in Magna Graecia, on the Gulf of Taranto, a little north-east of Heraclea. See *s.v.* Pythagoras.

Mezentius, -**ii**, m.: a mythical king of Caere, of most cruel disposition, and one of the allies of Turnus against Aeneas.

N.

Numa Pompilius : reigned forty-two years, 715—673 B.C.

Numicus, -i, m. (also **Numicius**) : a small river, flowing into the sea near Ardea. On its banks was shown the tomb of Aeneas (ii. 6).

O.

Ostia, -orum, n. : the port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber, said to have been founded by Ancus. In its neighbourhood were the State salt-works (xxxiii. 8).

P.

Paphlagonia, -ae, f. : a province of Asia Minor, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, between Pontus on the east, Phrygia on the south, and Bithynia on the west, stated to have been the original home of Antenor and the Eneti (i. 2).

Pictor, Quintus Fabius : the oldest writer of Roman history. He served in the Gallic War of 225 B.C., and also in the second Punic War, 218—202 B.C., when he was taken prisoner by Hannibal. He is often quoted as an authority by Livy (xliv. 2 ; lv. 7).

Piso, Lucius Calpurnius : surnamed Frugi, consul, 133 B.C. He was an opponent of the Gracchi, and wrote *Annales* of Roman history from the earliest down to his own days (lv. 7).

Politorium, -ii, n. : a Latin town, destroyed by Ancus Marcius (xxxiii.).

Punicum Bellum, n. : there were three Carthaginian Wars (*Punicus, -a, -um,* = belonging to the *Poeni,* or Carthaginians), viz., the First, 264—241 B.C. ; the Second, against Hannibal, 218—202 B.C., in which the Romans were defeated in the famous battles of the Trebia (218 B.C.), Trasimenus (217 B.C.), and Cannae (216 B.C.), but finally drove the Carthaginians from Italy, and crushed Hannibal at Zama, in Africa, 202 B C. ; and the Third, ended in 246 B.C., by the rasing of Carthage. In the **First Punic War,** which is that alluded to in ch. xix., the Romans suffered many severe defeats, but were finally victorious at the battle of the *Aegates Insulae,* forcing the Carthaginians to make peace at the price of ceding Sicily, and soon afterwards Sardinia also, to Rome.

Pythagoras, -ae, m. : a famous philosopher, a native of Samos, who migrated to Crotona, and there founded a philosophical school. The members of this society were 300 in number, and branch societies also sprang up in various other towns of Magna Graecia, notably at Heraclea and Metapontum. Their political views excited the inhabitants against them, and they were driven out with violence. Pythagoras had travelled in Egypt and the East, to pursue his studies. He believed that the soul does not die, but migrates from one body to another, and he laid great stress on mathematics and music. He

flourished about 540—510 B.C. Some said that it was from him that Numa got his religious ideas, a belief which Livy declares to be false (xviii. 2, 3).

Q.

Quirinus, -i., m.: (1) the name by which Romulus was known after his decease; (2) an epithet of several gods and goddesses, *e.g.* Ianus, Iuno, etc. It is derived from the same word as *Quirites* (*q.v.*), and signifies really the "lance-bearer."

Quirites, -ium, m.: the title of the Romans in their civil capacity, in full **Populus Romanus Quiritium.** According to Livy and most Roman writers, it was derived from *Cures*, being the name given to the Sabines under Tatius, but afterwards extended to all the population of the Roman hills. It is perhaps derived from the Sabine word *quiris*, a lance, and means simply the "warriors," *i.e.* that part of the populace which was fit for military service. Against this theory it may be urged that in historic times Quirites was applied to Romans in their civil, and not military capacity.

R.

Ramnes, -ium (or **Ramnenses, -ium**), m.: see Introduction, § 4.

Rea Sylvia, f.: *s.v.* Romulus.

Roma, -ae, f.: the Seven Hills of Rome are (1) the **Capitoline**, or Capitol, anciently called the Mons Tarpeius (*q.v.*); (2) the **Palatine**, anciently the Pallantium or Palatium (*s.v.* Arcadia), the original seat of the Romans; (3) the **Aventine**, south of the Palatine; (4) the **Coelian** south-east of the Aventine; (5) the **Esquiline**, due east of the Capitol, and north-east of the Palatine; (6) the **Viminal**, and (7) the **Quirinal**, between the Esquiline and the Capitol, to the north of the Palatine. In the valley between these three last and the Palatine lay the **Forum.** See also Introduction, § 3.

Romulus, -i, m., and **Remus, -i, m.**: the twin sons of Rea Sylvia by Mars. Numitor, father of Rea, was driven from Alba by his brother Amulius, who seized the kingdom and made Rea a Vestal. She became, however, mother of the twins, and was accordingly put to death, while her children were cast on the Tiber in a trough. They were finally stranded at a spot where grew a fig-tree, the **Ficus Ruminalis.** Here they were suckled by a wolf, and found by Faustulus, a shepherd, whose wife, Larentia, reared them. They slew Amulius, restored their grandfather Numitor, and led out a band of Alban colonists to the Palatine Hill. Romulus slew his brother in a fit of anger, and became first and sole King of Rome. His reign is commonly dated 753—715 B.C.

Rutuli. -orum, m.: the people of Turnus, whose capital town was Ardea (ii., 1).

Sabini, -orum, m.: an ancient people occupying the region between the Tiber, Nar, and Anio, on the borders of Etruria, Umbria,

Picenum, and Latium. They were closely related to the Sabelli, who dwelt on their southern marches, and the Samnites, who extended as far as Apulia and Lucania. They formed part of the original settlers at Rome, but after the time of the kings disappear as a nation.

Salii, -orum, m.: see xx. 4 *n*.

Samos, -i, f.: an important island of the Aegean, off the coast of Asia, between Ephesus and Miletus, the birthplace of Pythagoras. Adj. **Samius, -a, -um.**

Sceleratus Vicus, m.: the street in which Tullia, wife of Tarquin the Arrogant, is said to have driven over the body of Servius (xlviii. 7).

Servius Tullius: reigned forty-four years, 578—534 B.C.

Sibylla, -ae, f.: a legendary prophetess, of great age, who dwelt at Cumae, near Naples, and there uttered the prophecies which were collected into the so-called **Sibylline Books** (vii. 8).

Sicilia, -ae, f.: the island now bearing the same name, separated from Italy by the Strait of Messina. Acestes, a Trojan fugitive, is said to have colonized Eryx, in the west of the island, where Aeneas visited him (i. 4).

Signia, -ae, f.: a town on the northern frontier of the Volsci, seven miles south of Anagnia, said to have been colonized by Tarquinius Superbus (lvi. 3).

Sublicius Pons, m.: see xxxiii. 6 *n*.

Suessa Pometia, -ae, f.: a Volscian town captured by Tarquinius Priscus. Thither the sons of Ancus fled into exile (xli. 7). Adj. **Pometinus, -a, um** (lv. 7).

T.

Tarpeius Mons, m.: see lv. 1 *n*. **Tarpeius Spurius**, the commander whose daughter betrayed the Capitol to the Sabines, and is said to have given her name to the Tarpeian Rock (xi. 6).

Tarquinii, -orum, m.: one of the chief towns of Etruria, near the sea, twenty-five miles north-west of Rome. Here settled Demaratus, father of Tarquinius Priscus (xxxiv. 1).

Tarquinius Priscus: reigned thirty-eight years, 616—578 B.C.

Tarquinius Superbus: reigned twenty-four years, 534—510 B.C.

Tiberis, -is (also **Tiber, -is**, and **Thybris, -is**) m.: the river of Rome, 225 miles in length; rises in the Apennines, near Tifernum, and flows south-west to the sea, dividing Etruria from the Sabini and Latium. Its tributaries are the Nar, Velinus, Anio, Clanis, Allia, and Cremera. Its earlier name was **Albula, -ae**, f. (iii. 5).

Tities, -um, m.: see Introduction, § 4.

Troia, -ae, f.: also called **Ilium**; the capital of the Troad, a small district bordering upon Phrygia and Maeonia, in the north-west corner of Asia Minor. Paris (or Alexander), son of its king, Priam, carried off Helen, the most beautiful woman in the world, and the wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta. In revenge, Menelaus and his brother,

Agamemnon, King of Mycenae, collected a host from all Greece, and besieged Troy for ten years. The town was finally captured by means of the wooden horse, and its inhabitants slain or expelled. Amongst the fugitives who escaped, to found cities elsewhere, were Antenor and Aeneas. The legends connected with the fall of Troy form the subject of Homer's *Iliad*. There undoubtedly was such a town, and it was destroyed by force of arms, but the bulk of the legends connected therewith are entirely fanciful. The date of its fall is commonly put at 1,184 B.C. Its modern name is *Hissarlik;* but an **Ilium Vetus**, on the site of the original Troia, continued to exist into the times of Alexander (330 B.C.), and there was another **Ilium**, called **Novum**, near by, on the same rivers, the Simöis and its confluent the Scamander. The name Troia was given to many of the towns said to have been colonized by the fugitives, *e.g.* Patavium, the town of Antenor.

Tullus Hostilius : reigned thirty-one years, 673—642 B.C.

Turnus, -i, m. : *s.v.* Aeneas.

U.

Ulyxes, -is, m. : the craftiest of the Greeks who attacked Troy. After their victory he endeavoured to return home, but was a wanderer for ten years. His adventures form the subject of Homer's *Odyssey*. He spent a year at *Aeaea* (or Circeii), where he married Circe (*q.v.*). The name is more commonly spelt **Ulysses**, or, in the Greek form, Odysseus.

V.

Veii, -orum, m.: a famous city of Etruria, fifteen miles north of Rome. Its vicinity made it a dangerous foe to Rome, and continual wars were waged between the two cities, until, in 396 B.C., after a siege of ten years, Camillus took Veii by means of a mine, and destroyed it. After the sack of Rome by the Gauls, in 390 B.C., many of the citizens desired to rebuild Veii, and transfer their homes to that site.

Volsci, -orum, m.: a powerful early tribe of Latium, lying south-west of the Hernici, and bordered on the south by the Aurunci. Their principal towns were Suessa, Pometia, Fregellae, and Privernum. They joined the Latins in the Latin War of 340 B.C., and were finally reduced two years later.

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